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Between Ourselves

COVER

The illustration on the Cover depicts the various national flags of principal Muslim countries with the picture of the Ka'bah at Mecca in the right-hand corner. The Arabic writing at the foot of the illustration is the famous verse of the Holy Qur'an (3:102), whose translation reads: "Hold fast to the rope of God and do not disperse".

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The Islamic Review

OCTOBER 1955

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اللهماليخاليميا

جَدْهُ وَنُصِلِكَ عِلَى مُجَالِ رَسُولُهُ الْكِرَيْمُ جَالِمُ الْبَلِيِّبِنَ

"Muhammad is . . . the Messenger of God and the Last of the Prophets . . . " — THE HOLY QUR'AN 33 : 40
"There will be no Prophet after me" — THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

VOL. XLIV No. 10

OCTOBER, 1955

Satar-Rabi' al-awwal, 1375 A.H.

THE BURAIMI DISPUTE

Britain's doubtful tactics produce deadlock in Buraimi dispute

On 4th October 1955 the British Foreign Office issued a statement giving its professed reasons for withdrawing from the Tribunal dealing with the Buraimi district on the borders of Sa'udi Arabia, and making wild and wholly or almost wholly unsubstantiated statements alleging that the Sa'udi Arabian King and various officials had offered vast sums of money to the local rulers in order to win over their support against Britain and the Iraq Petroleum Company.

The geo-political background of this dispute was dealt with fully in *The Islamic Review* for July 1954 under the title of "Suzerainty of Sa'udi Arabia over Buraimi". It is, however, necessary before dealing with this extraordinary rash and amateurish British official document to recapitulate briefly the salient points of this comprehensive article so as to refresh the reader's memory and to brief any new seekers after the whole truth in this matter.

The Buraimi oasis is situated on 54° 40′ longitude and 24° 21′ latitude at the base of what is known as the Trucial Political Division, but well within the Saʻudi Arabian territory. Circular in shape with a diameter of six miles, it offers a permanent home to a purely pastoral and agricultural population of about 6,000, the people dwelling in eight villages of which the largest is Buraimi itself. This oasis is in the "north-eastern tip of the Rub' al-Khali (the Empty Quarter)". The Arab settlers are members of the Nai'm and Banu Yas tribes. The Nai'm are the most numerous and the people eke out a tolerable existence in huts made out of mats or mud, cultivating barley, rice, lentils and dates and eating camels' or goats' meat and salted fish.

There is abundant evidence from British sources to show that since 1800 C.E. Wahhabi influence was predominant in this area, and the British Admiralty *Intelligence Handbook of Arabia of 1920* specifically states "there are two small independent tracts between the Sultanate of 'Oman and the Trucial Coast to which the Sultan of 'Oman (Muscat) has never laid claim: (1) the Buraimi Oasis and (2) Mahadhah". Yet when under British pressure the Sultan of Muscat and the Shaikh of the neighbouring Abu Dhabi disputed this territory with the Government officials of the

Sa'udi Kingdom, the Sa'udi Government signed a standstill agreement with the British on 12th October 1952 in a praise-worthy attempt to reach an amicable and mutually satisfying agreement.

The Sa'udis, who are carrying on the inevitable struggle to unify Arabia, have every reason to show impatience at the outmoded British protectorates in the Arabian Peninsula, an impatience shared by their brothers in the Yemen. Yet it is not the Sa'udis but the British who have taken the diplomatic offensive by alleging that the King of Sa'udi Arabia had offered a brother of the Shaikh of Abu Dhabi the fantastic sum of £30,000,000 sterling on condition that "he would prevent the Iraq Petroleum Company from operating in the disputed territories and leave the field open to Aramco (the oil company holding the concession in Sa'udi Arabia)."

This fantastic statement, of which there is not a shred of tangible proof, sounds like a delayed action piece of spleen against Aramco, the which company first offered a Muslim country a fifty-fifty oil agreement and thus forced the hands of the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and revolutionized the whole face of the oil-producing countries of the Middle East and heralded the emergence of vast oil revenues which could be used for modernizing these countries.

Again, the British member of the Buraimi Tribunal, Sir Reader Bullard, resigned on the grounds that "Shaikh Yusuf Yasin made it abundantly clear that it was he who was conducting the proceedings on behalf of the Sa'udi Arabian Government and was representing that Government on the Tribunal rather than acting as an impartial arbitrator". Shaikh Yusuf Yasin was a member of the Tribunal together with Sir R. Bullard. The Chairman or President of the tribunal, Dr. Charles de Visscher, also resigned following the action of Sir R. Bullard.

The British arbitrator also alleged that Shaikh Yasin contacted the chief Sa'udi witness, Mr. 'Abdullah al-Quraish, claiming that "there can be no doubt that the evidence he subsequently gave was carefully rehearsed with the Sa'udi arbitrator".

'Abdullah al-Quraish, however, stated that his contacts

with Shaikh Zaid Ibn Sultan, the brother of the ruling Shaikh of Abu Dhabi, were motivated by the latter's desire to make his peace with Sa'udi Arabia, unmotivated by any financial inducement.

Far from being stung into swapping blows or hurling abusive counter-accusations against the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, the document issued by the Sa'udi Arabian Embassy in London is couched in the most moderate terms. As a document it will go down in history as one of the most carefully-worded and statesmanlike disclaimers of the rash hearsay accusations levelled by the British Government. By way of contrast the British document is a third-rate publication which merely shows that the men at the helm directing British foreign policy today are but pale shadows of their illustrious forbears, who would turn in their graves on reading this evidence which would be laughed out of any English court.

The Sa'udi Government points out in this document that arbitration was proposed by the British Government instead of the plebiscite proposed by the Sa'udis. "It (the Sa'udi Government) would also observe that the resignation of the British member took place at the very last moment after the hearings had been concluded and the decision of the Tribunal had been drafted by the three neutral members. This resignation alone prevented the Tribunal from issuing its decision with respect to these fantastic charges. If the Government of the United Kingdom had truly been persuaded of the validity of its accusations, it might have induced its member to remain for another half-hour, to enable the Tribunal to record its judgment." From this argument extracted from the Sa'udi reply, one draws the inevitable conclusion that the British Government does not sincerely want

any decisive outcome to this issue whether by arbitration or by the more democratic procedure of a plebiscite under international control.

Again, the Sa'udi document, in utterly refuting the charges levelled against it, states, "The dual capacity of Shaikh Yusif Yasin as Sa'udi arbitrator and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs was known to both the Tribunal and the Government of the United Kingdom from the beginning of the arbitration over a year ago. . . ." In spite of this the Sa'udi Government generously offers to meet the United Kingdom "more than halfway" if ". . . the United Kingdom is willing to abandon public recrimination as well as the campaign of intimidation it has carried on in the areas adjacent to those in dispute. . . ."

The British Foreign Office should grasp the hand of friendship unexpectedly offered to it in the hour of its most puerile blunder and rewin the approbation of the whole Muslim world by gracefully admitting its tactical errors. Otherwise it may find further humiliation at the hands of the International Court of the Hague, as in the case of Dr. Musaddiq and the Iranian oil dispute. The presence of the eminent jurist famous for the pithy wit of his advocacy, Mr. Chaudri Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, should be a reminder that the farcical experience of the Geneva Tribunal cannot be repeated with impunity. Britain must choose between friendship and defeat and force and enmity of the Muslim world. The choice is obvious.

A power of Britain's magnitude has little to lose, but Arab unity in the Arabian Peninsula must be achieved sooner or later. The sooner the better.

Sa'udi Arabian Government's Note on the British Foreign Office Statement

"The Sa'udi Arabian Government has read with deep regret the statement issued on the 4th October 1955 by the British Foreign Office on the Buraimi dispute. Believing that this dispute was not consonant with the cordial relations which ought to prevail between the two countries, the Sa'udi Arabian Government has earnestly sought its solution by peaceful and judicial methods. The latest statement by the Foreign Office can hardly be considered a constructive contribution towards the achievement of this end.

"The major portion of the statement consists of a distorted repetition of unproven charges made before the Arbitratal Tribunal, before its sessions in Geneva in September. These sessions were private, and the President of the Tribunal specifically enjoined both parties not to impart information regarding the proceedings to the Press or public. The Sa'udi Arabian Government, which considers the arbitration still in force, feels that this injunction bars it from replying in detail to the British Foreign Office's charges. The proceedings were all recorded on tape, and in due course the full proof regarding the original testimony and the cross-examination can be revealed. The Sa'udi Arabian Government would observe, however, that the statement that the British witnesses were not shaken in cross-examination is absolutely false. It would also observe that the resignation of the British member took place at the very last moment after the hearings had been concluded and the decision of the Tribunal had been drafted by the three neutral members. This resignation alone prevented the Tribunal from issuing its decision with respect to these fantastic charges. If the Government of the United Kingdom had been truly persuaded of the validity of its accusations, it might have induced its member to remain for another half-hour, to enable the Tribunal to record its judgment.

"The dual capacity of Shaikh Yusif Yasin as Sa'udi arbitrator and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, which was known to both the Tribunal and the Government of the United Kingdom from the beginning of the arbitration over a year ago, was seized upon at the last minute to justify the resignation of the British member, which kept the Tribunal's decision from becoming a matter of public knowledge.

"In the view of the Sa'udi Arabian Government, by far the most serious allegation in the British Foreign Office statement is that 'confirmation was secured by Her Majesty's Government's suspicion that attempts had been made by the Sa'udis to tamper with the impartiality of the Tribunal behind the President's back'. No evidence whatsoever is cited in support of this allegation, which the Sa'udi Arabian Government rejects as utterly untrue and unworthy of the Government of the United Kingdom.

"Although the Foreign Office statement is not helpful the Sa'udi Arabian Government wishes to reaffirm its readiness and resolve to carry the arbitration through. Arbitration, originally proposed by the Government of the United Kingdom, was accepted by the Sa'udi Arabian Government in place of the plebiscite it had favoured as an alternative means of disposing of this dispute and re-establishing the ties of friendship between Great Britain and Sa'udi Arabia. If the Government of the United Kingdom is willing to abandon public recrimination as well as the campaign of intimidation it has carried on in the areas adjacent to those in dispute for a policy of solving problems in a spirit of understanding and goodwill, the Sa'udi Arabian Government will meet it more than halfway."



"There is but one God and Muhammad is His Messenger"

MUHAMMAD AS A STATESMAN

MUHAMMAD AS GREAT A STATESMAN AS A PREACHER

by M. G. Rasul

"A remarkable feature of this nation was its religious and ideological unity instead of racial or tribal unity, which had been hitherto the uniting bond of the Arabs. In the words of Professor Hitti, 'This was the first attempt in the history of Arabia at a social organization with religion rather than blood as its basis'.

"This Islamic society, or the commonwealth, which the Prophet set up was based on perfect equality and justice for all with Divine sovereignty as its cardinal principal. This commonwealth, based as it was on Divine sovereignty, was free from the vices and corruptions peculiar to the monarchy or the republic based on the concept of popular sovereignty. The law in that State was not the 'expression of the general will of the community', as Rousseau propounded, nor was it an expression of the arbitrary will of a despotic ruler, but it was the expression of the infallible Divine will. Therefore, those laws were decidedly perfect and conducive to the general well-being of humanity."

The conception of prophetic office in Islam

Of all the prophets, Muhammad is the only one to have been born in the full light of history. The activities of no other messenger have been so thoroughly and minutely recorded as those of the life of the Prophet Muhammad; not a single episode or aspect of his life is shrouded in obscurity. Fortunately this has helped us immensely in making a proper evaluation of his achievements in the different walks of his life and in the various phases of his prophetic career. Thus a correct appraisal of his personality and greatness has been possible pre-eminently due to this factor.

To come to the subject proper, when a prophet has to play his part as a statesman, obviously he cannot act as an ordinary ruler or administrator would act. But his role as a statesman must form part of his prophetic office and, therefore, his achievements in the political sphere of his life must conform to the same standard of judgment with which his activities as a prophet or a religious preacher are usually judged. From this standpoint, Muhammad, we shall find presently, attained equal success in his career as a statesman as in every other sphere of his life.

The Prophet Muhammad, as we know, had ultimately to assume political power and authority with the expansion of his prophetic office. But he has been subjected to bitter

criticism by prejudiced critics who have misconceived the scope of prophetic office, or more precisely, have held the narrow and unpractical view that the Prophet Muhammad should have concerned himself exclusively with religious affairs, leaving political matters to those who had nothing to do with religion. This is indeed a gross misconception, and this idea is born of a peculiar, unnatural outlook on life, which is generally associated with religions other than Islam.

Unlike other religions, Islam is a comprehensive code of human life, and as such, it can ill afford to ignore its political aspect. Apart from this, the Prophet Muhammad is described in the Qur'an as "the best exemplar (*Uswah hasanah*) for the whole of humanity" (33:21). Therefore, it is quite in the fitness of things that the Prophet Muhammad should have set up a high standard of character and conduct in this aspect of human life, too, as he did in other aspects.

The achievements of Muhammad as a statesman in Medina

Let us now recall the actual achievements which stand to the credit of Muhammad as a statesman. It is common knowledge that it was in Medina that the Prophet Muhammad got a foothold and a congenial field for the propagation of Islam and the fulfilment of his life's mission. As a statesman he realized the paramount necessity of winning over all the people of Medina at the most critical period of his life and of the history of Islam. He won the

sympathy and support of all the elements that constituted the population of Medina, barring, of course, the Jews, who were the most unreliable and intransigent people of Medina, whom the Prophet Muhammad endeavoured his utmost to bring along with others closer to himself and the Muslims by a treaty of alliance. It need hardly be pointed out here that the charter which he granted to the non-Muslims at Medina stands to this day as a monument of enlightened tolerance the like of which human history has failed to produce.

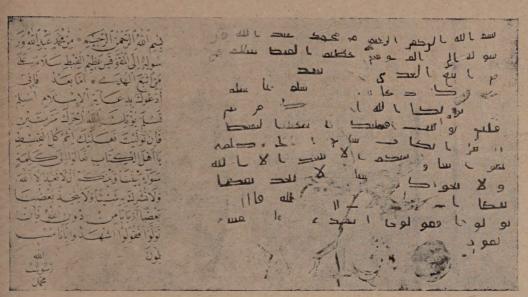
Besides, it was due to the magnetic personality of the Prophet Muhammad that the long-standing dispute and the internecine strife which had almost paralysed life at Medina was finally brought to an end. Thereby he earned the goodwill and gratitude of the people of Medina and at the same time he brought about by the termination of this hostility a peaceful and tranquil atmosphere, congenial to his activities, and which may be said to have been almost the sine qua non of his success in future years.

The noble spirit of fellow-feeling, brotherhood, amity and concord which the Prophet instilled in the minds of the people, who were so degraded and demoralized, welded them into a strong and compact nation, unique in the annals of

commonwealth, based as it was on Divine sovereignty, was free from the vices and corruptions peculiar to the monarchy or the republic based on the concept of popular sovereignty. The law in that State was not the "expression of the general will of the community," as Rousseau propounded, nor was it an expression of the arbitrary will of a despotic ruler, but it was the expression of the infallible Divine will. Therefore, those laws were decidedly perfect and conducive to the general well-being of humanity.

Thus Muhammad as a statesman ensured the longcherished peace and tranquillity of humanity and averted all possibility of strife and discord by abolishing tribal and racial prejudices and distinctions and by uniting them by a strong religious feeling and a keen sense of brotherhood.

Furthermore, it was Muhammad who exposed the hollowness of all false criteria of human greatness prevailing in the then society and who introduced in their place good character and piety as the determining factor of human greatness; with one stroke he levelled down all artificial distinctions of noble descent, wealth and riches, power and pelf, and brought humanity on to the common platform of character and piety.



A facsimile (part on the right) of the letter which the Prophet Muhammad sent to Maqawqas, the Ruler of Egypt (Qibt), inviting him to the acceptance of the fundamental principle of Islam - the Unity of the Godhead. It is to establish this that Islam came; for it is only by realizing the unity of God that man can understand the unity of the human race.

Similar letters were sent to other rulers of the neighbouring countries.

mankind. In this connection the observation of Professor Philip Hitti is worth quoting: "Within a brief span of mortal life Muhammad called forth out of unpromising materials a nation never united before in a country that was hitherto a geographical expression".

Muhammad bases his nation not on blood ties but the

ideological unity of religion

A remarkable feature of this nation was its religious and ideological unity instead of racial or tribal unity, which had been hitherto the uniting bond of the Arabs. In the words of Professor Hitti, "This was the first attempt in the history of Arabia at a social organization with religion rather than blood as its basis".2

This Islamic society, or the commonwealth, which the Prophet set up was based on perfect equality and justice for all with Divine sovereignty as its cardinal principle. This

Muhammad's conduct towards his enemies

We now come to the difficulties and obstacles which Muhammad had to encounter in his wars with the enemies of Islam. In those wars which were waged against Medina and which threatened the very existence of the nascent Islam, the Jews of Medina were pledge-bound to help the Muslims. But, in flagrant violation of their pledge, they helped the idolators of Mecca and conspired with them for the destruction of Islam. Although the Muslims were true to their pledge and maintained friendly relations with the Jews, they chose to break off that relation by violating their agreement. In the battles of Badr, Uhud and Khaibar they repeatedly

1 Philip Hitti, History of the Arabs, London 1940, pp. 121-122. 2 Ibid., p. 120.

tried to jeopardize the cause of Islam by allying themselves with the most implacable foes of Islam. Over and above this, the Banu Nadhir clan of the Jews went even to the length of attempting the Prophet Muhammad's life. These offences are palpably very grave and no leader of a nation or architect of a State can afford to overlook these offences without great detriment to the interest of his nation or State. So Muhammad had to punish the Jews for their perfidy and treachery of the worst type and to exterminate the menace which was threatening the very existence of the Islamic State and its ideals, which he was so painfully and laboriously building up. The punishment inflicted, considering the gravity of the offences, was not severe. The Nadhir and Banu Qainuqa' clans were banished from Medina and the Banu Quraizah clan, who were guilty of the most heinous conspiracy against the Muslims in the Battle of Khaibar, were executed. Of course, the women and children of that clan were spared. That Muhammad was justified in taking this step has been admitted by many an impartial historian. That Muhammad was not actuated by any religious fanaticism or bigotry in his relations with the Jews has been acknowledged by Sir William Muir, not a very sympathetic critic of Muhammad, in his following remark: "The ostensible ground for which Muhammad punished the Jews was political and not religious". In this connection the observation of the Indian Muslim scholar, the late Khuda Bakhsh, is noteworthy: "Muhammad would have failed egregiously if he had dealt with the political problems in the spirit of a visionary, in the fashion of an idealist. Take, for instance, the attitude with the Jews. Could we, in the light of facts that we do know, censure him for his attitude towards them? Modern statesmanship would, perhaps, have taken a far less merciful view than the Prophet did.

Prejudiced critics of Muhammad who accuse him of inordinate love of power are refuted by facts of history

Still, some prejudiced historians have accused the Prophet Muhammad of inordinate love of power or of cruelty. The German historian, Joseph Hell, is one of these historians. He says: "Love of power demanded unlimited rule in Medina — hence the banishment of the Jews; whereas vengeance cried for the subjugation of Mecca." We have seen that the charge with regard to the Jews is quite baseless. Now regarding the subjugation of Mecca, too, history tells us a different story.

The conquest of Mecca by the Prophet Muhammad and the Muslims was not an act of aggression; it took place as a result of violation of the Treaty of Hudaibiyya by the Quraish, who, in alliance with the Banu Bakr tribe, attacked the Banu Khuza'ah tribe — the allies of the Muslims — at dead of night. On an appeal from the tribe, Muhammad and his followers had to set out for Mecca. So it was not an aggressive campaign, but one waged for the defence of allies. This campaign led eventually to the capitulation of Mecca. The charge of cruelty or atrocities might have been hurled against Muhammad if he had retaliated upon the people of Mecca by wholesale butchery or persecution. But instead we find in the words of Ameer Ali, in his Spirit of Islam, "His conduct towards the bitterest of his foes was marked by noble clemency and forbearance". In the history of mankind no other conquest has ever been so bloodless and peaceful as that of Mecca. As Sir William Muir observes: "The magnanimity with which Muhammad treated a people who had so long hated and rejected him is worthy of admiration".

Apart from these observations, the history of the world

is before us, which will tell us that the conquest of Mecca by the Prophet Muhammad is a unique and unparalleled historical phenomenon. Take for instance the subjugation of the Greeks by the Romans, the occupation of Jerusalem by the Christians in the early Crusades, the conquest of Spain by Isabella and Ferdinand, the defeat of Germany at the hands of the Allied Powers in the First World War and the hundreds of other stories of wars and campaigns which fill the pages of history. They will all present before us gruesome tales of general massacre and devastation, of wanton brutality and persecution blackening the pages of history. In striking contrast stands the subjugation of Mecca by the Prophet Muhammad, unique in its nobility, sublimity and grandeur. I cannot help quoting here the remark of Stanley Lane-Poole: "One has but to refer to Muhammad's conduct to the prisoners after the Battle of Badr, to his patient tolerance towards his enemies at Medina, his gentleness to his people, his love of children and the dumb creatures and, above all, his bloodless entry into Mecca and the complete amnesty he gave to those who had been his bitter enemies during eighteen years of insult and persecution and finally open war, to show that cruelty was no part of Muhammad's nature."5 Elsewhere the same writer says: "He was one of those happy few who have attained the supreme joy of making one great truth their very life-spring. He was the messenger of one God and never to his life's end did he forget who he was, or the message which was the marrow of his being. . . . Well did Carlyle choose him for his prophethero! There have been other pure lives and high aspirations, but no man was ever more thoroughly filled up with the sense of his mission or carried out that mission more heroically ".6 This observation of Lane-Poole gives us a true and exact picture of the man. His lifelong activities, whether in adversity or in power, reveal the same picture.

The Treaty of Hudaibiyya reveals the noble traits of the character of Muhammad

The noble traits of his character have also been revealed in the famous Treaty of Hudaibiyya, which he concluded with the Quraish of Mecca. There, also, he gave evidence of sober and enlightened statesmanship. It was his eagerness, his attitude of conciliation and compromise, which ultimately made the treaty possible. If he had taken an intransigent and obdurate attitude, as 'Umar and some others were bent upon doing, the treaty would not have taken place. In that case Islam might have been deprived of the advantages of a glorious victory, which she obtained in the Treaty of Hudaibiyya. As we know, it was due to this treaty that the expansion of Islam became remarkably rapid and the reputation of Islam immeasurably increased. Out of an apparently humiliating treaty great benefits were derived by Islam, to the great bewilderment of the enemies of Islam. That is why this treaty was approved by God and has been described as al-fath al-mubin or "the clear victory" in the Qur'án.

Besides, the Prophet Muhammad's humility and nobility and conciliatory attitude were amply demonstrated in the Treaty of Hudaibiyya, when he complied with the demand of the Quraish by agreeing to be described merely as "Muhammad, son of 'Abdullah," at the time of ratification of the treaty. Being a genuine prophet he was entitled to

³ Khuda Bakhsh, Mohammad: The Prophet of God, p. 14. 4 Joseph Hell, Arab Civilization, p. 30. 5 S. Lane-Poole, The Prophet and Islam, London, p. 35. 6 S. Lane-Poole, The Prophet and Islam, London, pp. 39-40.

rite down "Muhammad, the Prophet of God". But he was atisfied with his mere name when the Quraish objected to is inserting anything more than his name, as they were not repared to admit his prophethood. This shows the wonderul magnanimity of Muhammad's heart and his accommodatng spirit; moreover, it also reveals his unassuming disposition and the complete absence of vanity in his nature. If e had been obsessed with a sense of false prestige, he would ot have yielded to the demand of the Quraish, and thereby e might have lost a chance of victory. But Muhammad was ot such a short-sighted statesman as to lose the chance of a lear victory on account of personal considerations; he was never a man to sacrifice the larger interests at the altar of elfish aims. As a far-sighted statesman endowed with clear vision he knew when to strike and how to strike. He never nissed an opportunity when it offered itself and never illowed any personal consideration to stand in the way of the uccess of Islam. These are indeed very salutary lessons for nodern statesmen, who very often confuse issues and spoil chances of settlement and peace by putting forward their elfish and egoistical considerations.

Moreover, treaties are many a time regarded as mere craps of paper, and whenever it does not suit the convenience of any party which happens to be stronger, it repudiates that treaty without any scruples. But the Prophet Muhammad was throughout true to his word and never broke any pledge or agreement which he had made with others. The Treaty of Hudaibiyya stands as a shining example of the Prophet Muhammad's truthfulness, sincerity and fidelity. To him the treaty became null and void only after the Quraish had taken the initiative in breaking it.

An estimate of Muhammad's statesmanship in the words of Muslim and non-Muslim writers

Indeed, history bears evidence to the fact that Muhammad as a statesman was as great as he was a preacher of righteousness. As Dr. K. A. Hakim says: "He was the philosopher-king of whom Plato had dreamed; he was the man with high ideals of justice, possessing at the same time the character and the power to put them into practice and see their realization before his own eyes during his lifetime".

Plato dreamed only of a Greek City-State, three-fourths of whose population consisted of slaves with practically no civil rights. For him the rest of the world was barbarian and the non-Greek world was not included in his idealism. But the Prophet Muhammad visualized the whole of humanity as one organism, and he was, therefore, not satisfied with the successful foundation of a City-State in Mecca or Medina. He issued invitations to the rulers of the surrounding countries not to submit to himself nor to accept the Arab domination, but to submit to the ideal which could unite diverse races and creeds.

Here I cannot but refer to the observation of Khuda Bakhsh with regard to the splendid democracy of Islam, of which Muhammad was the architect. He says: "Nothing like it has ever been realized in the East, and Europe itself has hardly any example to cite of so perfect a democracy as the one established by Islam. True, it was short-lived, but its existence, however brief, is a crowning glory to Islam. A new view was opened, a fresh direction was given, a new starting point was made — the whole past was obliterated, as a new Arabia arose and a new Arabian nationality was summoned into existence to take its place in the history of the world."

All these glorious achievements, including the most brilliant triumphs which he accomplished in his life, "awakened," as Washington Irving has said, "no pride or vain glory as they would have done had they been effected for selfish purposes".

I would now conclude with the comment of the French poet Lamarline (d. 1869) about the greatness of the Prophet Muhammad. He says: "As regards all standards by which human greatness may be measured, we may ask — is there any man greater than he?" Again he says: "As a fact, Muhammad is the great man without whom the world would appear incomplete." Truly, Muhammad stands to this day and for all time to come as the peak of humanity. The Qur'ánic verse, "And verily thou (standest) on an exalted standard of character" (68:4) bears testimony to this fact.

7 Dr. K. A. Hakim, Islamic Ideology, Lahore, Pakistan, p. 190. 8 Khuda Bakhsh, Mohammad: The Prophet of God, p. 25.

THE GARDEN OF CONTENTMENT

VI. SERENITY

There in that Garden I did hear a voice, At sound of which all things did instantly rejoice. My heart did thrill, so still, with a deep *Serenity*; The song did seem one of eternity.

I listen'd in that Garden, which glisten'd all with dew Mid cool, calm shadows, falling nigh flow'rs of ev'ry hue. On mirror'd waters swans, it seem'd, Did float on lake that dream'd, While rivers murmur'd runningly, Soft and around so runningly,

This song:

"Because the Belovéd is Ruler, Because the Belovéd hath Pow'r, Because the Belovéd is Merciful,
How can this Joy depart? "
I look'd again, and all around
On gentle air that song did sound:
"Because the Belovéd is everywhere
For ever and for aye,
Because the Belovéd knows everything
That ever can be known,
Because the Belovéd is Merciful,
Ah! Merciful, so Merciful!
How can this Joy depart?
How can this Joy depart?

WILLIAM BASHYR PICKARD.

WISDOM FROM THE SAYINGS OF THE PROPHET OF ISLAM

COLLECTED BY IFTIKHAR AKHTAR BEGUM

A picture of the Mihrab al-Nabiyy (the Prophet's Niche) in the Prophet's Mosque at Medina, Sa'udi Arabia, where the Prophet was wont to say his prayers.

This part of the Prophet's Mosque is the most sought after place for prayers by those who visit Medina.

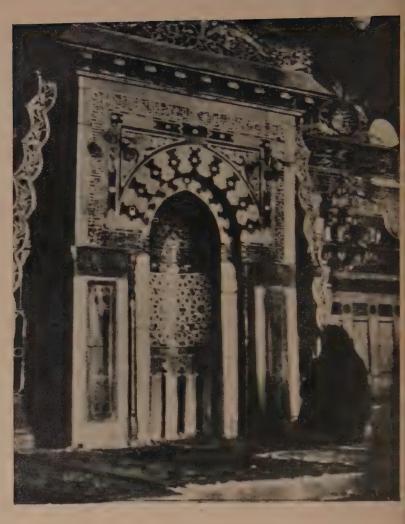
Actions shall be judged only by the motive, and a man shall have what he desires.

The condition dearest to God is that in which the person perseveres.

Keep fast and break it and stand up in devotion (in the night) and have sleep, for your body has a right over you, and your eye has a right over you, and your wife has a right over you, and the person who pays you a visit has a right over you.

What is lawful is manifest and what is unlawful is manifest, and between these two are doubtful things which many people do not know. So whoever guards himself against the doubtful things, guards his religion and his honour, and whoever falls into doubtful things is like the herdsman who grazes his cattle on the borders of a reserve — he is likely to enter it. Know that every king has a reserve (and) know that the reserve of God in His land is what He has forbidden. Know that in the body there is a bit of flesh; when it is sound, the whole body is sound, and when it is corrupt the whole body is corrupt. Know, it is the heart.

Iman (Faith) is that you believe in God and His angels and in meeting with Him and (in) His messengers and that you believe in being raised to life (after death).



Islam is that you shall worship God and not associate aught with Him and (that) you keep up prayer and pay the zakat as ordained and fast in Ramadhan.

Ihsan (goodness) is that you worship God as if you see Him; for if you do not see Him, surely He sees you.

Islam is built on five (things): the bearing of witness that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is the Messenger of God, the keeping up of prayer, the payment of the Zakat, the pilgrimage, and fasting in Ramadhan.

None of you has faith unless I am dearer to him than his father and his son and all mankind.

None of you has faith unless he loves for his brother what he loves for himself.

A Muslim is he from whose tongue and hand Muslims are safe, and a *muhajir* (literally, one who leaves his home) is he who forsakes what God has forbidden.

Whoever offers prayers as we do and turns his face to our *Qiblah* and eats the animal slaughtered by us, is a Muslim for whom is the covenant of God and the covenant of the Messenger of God; so do not violate God's covenant.

There shall be no envy but of two persons: the person whom God has given wealth and the power to spend it in

the service of truth and the person whom God has granted knowledge of things and he judges by it and teaches it (to others).

The word of wisdom is the lost property of the believer, so wherever he finds it, he has a better right to it.

He who goes forth in search of knowledge is in the way of God till he returns.

Whomsoever God intends to do good, He gives right understanding of religion, and knowledge is maintained only through teaching.

The learned ones are the heirs of the prophets — they leave knowledge as their inheritance; he who inherits it inherits a great fortune.

The seeking of knowledge is obligatory upon every Muslim.

Of the signs of the hour is that knowledge shall be taken away and ignorance shall reign supreme.

Purification is half the faith.

The key to paradise is prayer and the key to prayer is purification.

Prayer is not accepted without purification, nor (is) charity (accepted) out of what is acquired by unlawful means.

Prayer said in congregation excels the prayer said alone by twenty-seven degrees.

When one of you says prayers, he holds confidential intercourse with his Lord.

Ask (and) you will be given, ask (and) you will be given.

Charity is incumbent on every Muslim. He should work with his hand and profit himself and give in charity. If he has nothing, he should help the distressed ones in need, and if he is unable to do this, he should do good deeds and refrain from doing evil — this is charity on his part.

On every bone of the fingers charity is incumbent every day: you can assist a man in riding his beast or in lifting his provisions to the back of the animal — this is charity; and a good word and every step which you take in walking over to prayer is charity; and showing the way (to another) is charity.

Removal from the way of that which is harmful is charity.

Every good deed is charity, and it is a good deed that you meet your brother with a cheerful countenance and that you pour water from your bucket into the vessel of your brother.

The man who exerts himself on behalf of the widow and the poor is like the individual who struggles in the way of God, is awake in the night (for prayers) and fasts during the day.

A prostitute was forgiven — she passed by a dog, panting with its tongue out on the top of a well containing water, and almost dying with thirst; so she took off her shoe and tied it to her head-covering and drew forth water for it; she was forgiven on account of this.

If you take your rope and bring a bundle of firewood on your back and then sell it, with which God should save your honour, it is better for you than that you should beg of people whether they give you or do not give you.

God has made obligatory in their wealth a charity which is taken from the wealthy among them and given to the poor among them.

With God, the most detestable of all things permitted is divorce.

The truthful, honest merchant is with the prophets and the truthful ones and the martyrs.

The angels met the soul of a man among those who were before you, (and) they said, Have you done any good? He said, I used to give respite to the one in easy circumstances and forgive one who was in straitened circumstances. So they forgave him.

Whoever withholds foodstuffs that they may become scarce and dear, is a sinner.

A Muslim who plants a tree or cultivates land, and then there eat of it birds or a man or an animal, has a source of charity for him.

The wealthy are the poor except those who give away wealth thus and thus, and they are very few.

Give gifts to one another, for gifts take away rancour.

It is not right for a Muslim who has property regarding which he must make a will that he should sleep for two nights (consecutively), but that his will should be written down with him.

Bequeath one-third and one-third is much; for if you leave your heirs free from want, it is better than that you leave them in want, begging of (other) people; and you do not spend anything seeking thereby the pleasure of God but you are rewarded for it, even for that which you put into the mouth of your wife.

I am nearer to every believer than his own self; so whoever leaves behind a debt or children to support, it shall be our charge; and whoever leaves property, it is for his heirs.

When the servant brings to one of you his food, then if he does not make him sit with him (to eat at the same table), let him give him a morsel or two morsels; for he has laboured to prepare it.

Eat and drink and wear clothes and be charitable, not being extravagant or self-conceited.

O Messenger of God! Who has the greatest right that I should keep company with him with goodness? He said, "Your mother". He said, Who then? He said, "Your mother". He said, Who then? He said, "Your mother". He said, Who then? He said, "Then your father".

A dweller of the desert came to the Prophet Muhammad and said, You kiss children but we do not kiss them. The Prophet said, "Do I control aught for you if God has taken away mercy from your heart?"

Whomsoever it pleases that his sustenance should be made ample to him or that his life should be lengthened, let him be kind to his relatives.

Rahim is an offshoot of Rahman; so God said, Whoever makes his ties close with you I will make My ties close with him, and whoever severs his ties with you, I will sever my ties with him.

The most perfect of the believers in faith is the best of them in moral excellence, and the best of you are the kindest of you to their wives.

A companion of Muhammad said, I asked A'ishah what did the Prophet do when in his house. She said, He served his wife, meaning that he did work for his wife.

A Muslim is the brother of a Muslim; he does him no injustice, nor does he leave him alone (to be the victim of another's injustice); and whoever does the needful for his brother, God does the needful for him; and whoever removes the distress of a Muslim, God removes from him a distress out of the distresses of the day of resurrection; and whoever covers (the fault of) a Muslim, God will cover his sins on the day of resurrection.

Help your brother whether he is the doer of wrong or wrong is done to him. The companions said, O Messenger of God! We can help a man to whom wrong is done, but how could we help him when he is the doer of wrong? He said, "Take hold of his hands from doing wrong".

You will see the faithful in their having mercy for one another and in their love for one another and in their kindness towards one another like the body; when one member of it ails, the entire body (ails), one part calling out the other with sleeplessness and fever.

Believers are in relation to one another as (parts of) a structure, one part of which strengthens the other. (The Prophet inserted the fingers of one hand amid those of the other so as to conjoin his two hands.)

Do you know what day this is? They said, God and His Messenger knows best. He said, This is a sacred day. Do you know what city this is? They said, God and His Messenger know best. He said, Sacred city. Do you know what month this is? They said, God and His Messenger know best. He said, Sacred month. Then he said, Surely God has made sacred to you your blood and your property and your honour as this day of yours is sacred in this month of yours in this city of yours.

Do not hate one another and do not be jealous of one another and do not boycott one another, and be servants of God (as) brethren; and it is not lawful for a Muslim that he should sever his relations with his brother for more than three days.

A man does not accuse another of being a transgressor, nor does he accuse him of being a *kafir*, but it (the epithet) comes back to him, if his companion is not such.

Gabriel continued to enjoin upon me with good treatment towards the neighbour until I thought that he would make him heir of the property (of the deceased neighbour).

Your prisoners of war are your brethren, God has placed them under your control; so whoever has his brother under his control should feed him from what he eats and should give him clothes to wear from what he wears, and do not impose on them a task which should overpower them, and if you impose on them such a task, then help them (in doing it).

One who manages the affairs of the widow and the poor man is like the one who exerts himself hard in the way of God, or the one who stands up for prayer in the night and fasts in the day.

God has no mercy on him who is not merciful to men.

Be careful of your duty to God regarding these dumb animals; ride them while they are in a fit condition, and eat them while they are in a fit condition.

Surely truth leads to virtue, and virtue leads to paradise, and a man continues to speak the truth until he becomes thoroughly truthful; and surely falsehood leads to vice, and vice leads to the fire, and a man continues to tell lies until he is written down a great liar with God.

Every one of you is a ruler and every one of you shall be questioned about those under his rule; the king is a ruler and he shall be questioned about his subjects; and the man is a ruler in his family and he shall be questioned about those under his care; and the woman is a ruler in the house of her husband, and she shall be questioned about those under her care; and the servant is a ruler so far as the property of his master is concerned, and he shall be questioned about that which is entrusted to him.

The most excellent *jihad* is the uttering of truth in the presence of an unjust ruler.

To Governors — be gentle (to the people) and be not hard (on them), and make (them) rejoice and do not incite (them) to aversion.

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THE ISLAMIC CONGRESS

(AL-MO'TAMAR AL-ISLAMI), CAIRO

A BRIEF SURVEY OF ITS WORK

By Professor Mahmud Brelvi

The Islamic Congress is the culmination of a succession of efforts at unifying the modern Muslim world

A brief survey of its work

The idea of the unity of the modern Muslim world was given a fillip by the great and dynamic revivalist of Islam. Jamaluddin Asadabadi (better known, though erroneously, as "al-Afghani"), and his followers, the Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh, Amir Shakib Arsalan, al-Kawakibi, and others, in Egypt and the rest of the Arab world, and the 'Ali brothers (the Maulana Muhammad 'Ali and the Maulana Shaukat Ali) in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent; and, in recent days, by al-Haj Sayyid Amin al-Husaini, the Grand Mufti of Palestine. Lately, Pakistan has taken an active interest in this respect, and no less than half a dozen international Islamic Conferences have been held at Karachi during the last eight years - Mo'tamar-i-Alam-i-Islami (the World Islamic Conference) being the most important one, whose President was the aforesaid Grand Mufti of Palestine. In January 1955 another important Islamic gathering, The International Assembly of Muslim Youth, was held at Karachi, under the guidance of Mr. 'In'amullah Khan, the leader of the youth movement in Pakistan. Both the Secretary-General and the Secretariat of this Assembly are in Cairo, while its President, who is an Indonesian, is in Indonesia.

The numerous Islamic Conferences that have been held from time to time and at different Islamic centres during the past few decades have, however, left no permanent mark behind, because of lack of proper planning and the backing of a recurring financial support.

Recently, a happy coincidence united His Excellency Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, the Prime Minister of Egypt, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, and King Sa'ud of Sa'udi Arabia, during the sacred pilgrimage at Mecca, when, at the suggestion of the Egyptian Premier, both the Pakistani and Sa'udi Arabian leaders welcomed the idea of the establishment of an International Islamic Congress, to meet annually at the time of the pilgrimage, with its permanent Secretariat at Mecca. Thus, this beneficial institution of world Muslims came into being with the financial backing of Egypt, Pakistan and Sa'udi Arabia.

The Supreme Council of the Islamic Congress is headed by His Majesty the King of Sa'udi Arabia, with the Governor-General of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of Egypt as its two members. His Excellency Colonel Anwar al-Saadaat, Minister of State for Egypt, is its Secretary-General, and Major Amin Shakir its Deputy SecretaryGeneral. A temporary Secretariat is already functioning at Cairo.

The Programme of the Congress

The Islamic Congress is a non-political institution, interested in the religious, educational, moral, cultural and social welfare of the Muslims of the world. It has already started its very beneficial educational programme by inviting needy Muslim students from various parts of the Islamic world to come to Egypt and receive higher university. scientific and technical education under the Islamic Congress scholarship scheme. The first batch, consisting of Pakistani and Indian Muslim students (boys and girls) is shortly to arrive in Egypt for the purpose. The Congress also hopes to establish cultural centres at various places in the world to make the educational, cultural, religious, medical and financial help of the Islamic Congress readily available to the deserving Muslim institutions. The Congress aims at the gradual moral, social, educational and even economic elevation of the standard of life of the Muslim peoples, and hopes in the ultimate unity of the Muslim world. The Islamic Congress is non-sectarian, does not enter into religious controversies, and avoids the fruitless bush-beating of controversial dogmatism.

More than a score of various departments have been opened in the General Secretariat of the Islamic Congress, in which a number of highly qualified educators, professors and philosophers, from al-Azhar and other Egyptian universities, as well as from various universities of the world, are working to make the ambitious and sprawling programme of the Congress a success. The Islamic Congress is particularly interested in the amelioration of the backward Islamic conditions of the Muslims residing in far-flung areas of the world, where the Muslims are either a minority or else they are in dire need of the help of the Congress owing to unfavourable local conditions.

The Islamic Congress has also planned to produce a series of books and booklets on the vital subjects closely connected with the present state of Muslim affairs, as under:

Whys and Wherefores of the Backwardness of Muslims. Islam and Human Society. Religious Tolerance in Islam. Islamic Solution of Human Problems, etc., etc.

The Islamic Congress is also contemplating to undertake the work of the translation of the Holy Qur'an into various languages.

on

HUSAIN IBN MANSUR AL-HALLAJ

CRUCIFIED ON WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY, 1st-2nd DECEMBER, 912 C.E.

THE MUNAJAT OF AL-HALLAJ

The Late King Ibn Sa'ud's Patronage of Arab Literature

By A. K. Germanus

The artistic products of the mystic writers — a forgotten page of Arabic literature

Dr. Abu 'l-'Ula 'Afifi reminds us in his article, "A Forgotten Page of Arabic Literature," that Oriental universities and literary critics neglect one of the most interesting features of Arabic literature: the artistic products of the mystic writers. He argues that, as Sufism does not fall within the sphere of the usual categories of dithyrambs, elegy or satire, it is not considered strictly to belong to literature proper. The learned doctor's view and rebuke may be justified to a certain extent only, and is welcome at any rate as an encouragement to make up for past disregard. Arabic literature has produced in mystic poetry such masterpieces as equal those of Persian or of Turkish origin, although the West has been acquainted with the works of the latter more popularly and extensively. Our learned doctor adduces as a striking argument that, "However many literary scholars or professors in the Arabic East studied the *Diwan* of Ibn al-Faridh, or the Tarjuman al-Ashwaq of Ibn 'Arabi, or the Diwan of Shushtari, or the al-Mada'ih al-Nabawiyya of Busiri, etc., the lyric poetry addressed to a worldly beloved necessarily must be inferior to the Divine exaltation inspired by a mystic cognition of the Creator and immortalized by Ibn al-Faridh".

As to prose mysticism, he propounds that, if there ever was Arabic prose inspired by the Qur'an in the loftiest degree, it is the Arabic mystic prose. The most neglected sphere of Arabic literature is, in his opinion, the Supplication

(Munajat) of Husain Ibn Mansur al-Hallaj.

It is not our aim to deal here extensively with the life and deeds of this unfortunate mystic, whose beliefs and convictions may have justly been repugnant to the orthodox Muslims of his time. We only beg to quote an Arabic source relevant to his person which is little known in the East and West.

Ibn Kathir's History

During my last visit to Mecca, the late King Ibn Sa'ud presented me with a rich collection of books. Among this treasure there was the edition published at the command of His Majesty of 'Imad al-Din Abu 'l-Fida Isma'il Ibn 'Umar al-Qarshi al-Dimashqui, known as Ibn Kathir's Tarikh, entitled Al-Bidayah wa 'l-Nihayah.2

1 The Majajllat al-Azhar, Cairo, Egypt, May 1952, pp. 44-47. 2 Ibn Kathir was born in a Syrian village, near Busra, and went with his father to Damascus, where he stayed for some time. with his father to Damascus, where he stayed for some time. His works, besides the above-mentioned, are Commentary on the Sahih of Bukhari (unfinished); Tabaqat al-Shafi'iyah; Commentary of the Qur'án (10 vols.); al-ljithad fi Talab al-Jihad (MS); Jami' al-Masanid (MS) (8 vols.); Takmil fi Ma'rifat al-Thiqat wa al-Dhu'afa wa 'l-Majahil (MS) (5 vols.). He was a prolific author, though not original, but on account of his clear

Ibn Kathir died in 1372 C.E., and consequently had to rely for his data on previous authors, which he cites in the course of his narrative, such as Tabari, Ibn Athir, Ibn al-Jauzi, Khatib al-Baghdadi, Ibn 'Asakir and others. Hajji Khalfa mentions his work in the Kashf al-Zunun with the following words: "Al-Bidayah wa 'l-Nihayah of Ibn Kathir al-Dimashqi, the historian, who died in 774 A.H., is an extensive work of ten volumes, in which he relied on the



His late Majesty King Ibn Sa'ud (d. 1953) It is not widely known that the founder of modern Sa'udi Arabia was also a patron of literature. The learned author, Professor Germanus, speaks of this aspect of the life of his late Majesty, who was responsible for the publication of Ibn Kathir's Tarikh.

Book and the Tradition and recorded the events of thousands of the ancients, discriminating between the true and the false, and the legendary (khabar Isra'ili) and brought it up to the times'

Faraj Allah Zakiy al-Kurdi, who edited the now published text, informs us that he had compared several copies.

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the most important of which is that of the Library of Valid-Din at Constantinople, written down by Mustafa Ahmed Hijazi al-Maqqari in 1123 A.H.—1711 C.E., of which a chotographic copy is preserved in the Library at Cairo. The bublished edition printed at Cairo consists of twenty excellently printed and bound quarto volumes.

The method of recording events by Arab annalists compared with that of Greek and Latin historians

It is the characteristic feature of Arab annalists that they record events which happened in the respective years almost without regard to their inter-relation. This usage may not be considered as a procedure of high literary merit, dissimilar to the ancient Greek or Latin historians, whose main aim has been to produce a well constructed and previously planned work of art into which they inserted imaginary speeches (i.e., Thucydides) and fantastic descriptions like the chronicles of the Middle Ages, but, on the other hand, the topsy-turvy data hoarded up unsystematically by Muslim annalists contain most valuable information for the historian of culture.

When Ibn Khathir relates (Vol. XI, p. 120) that in the year 301 A.H.—913 C.E. many Byzantine strongholds had been taken, and in the same year many cases of fatal blood diseases occurred in Baghdad (amradh damawiyyah), and again in the same year the Regent of 'Umar sent as a present a white mule and a black gazelle, and in this year the Caliph Muqtadir rode for the first time publicly to the Shamsiyyah Gate and returned on horseback to his palace at the river—these are items which, though unconnected, supply the historian with information to be relied upon concerning quite distant quarters. His report of earthquakes which resulted in the eruption of oil, or even the story that Baghdad was alarmed by a nightly monster who ate up children and the Caliph could only quiet the anxiety of mothers by exposing the carcasses of beavers caught from the Tigris, is valuable for the geologist and the zoologist. Political sagacity, too, thought quite unconsciously, is revealed in the pages of our annalist.

"In the year 301 A.H.—913 C.E the Vizir, 'Ali Ibn 'Isa, asked the Caliph Muqtadir for permission to enter into correspondence with the head of the Qarmatians, Abu Sa'id al-Hasan Ibn Bahram al-Janaabi. (Several punitive expeditions against these rebels had been repulsed and annihilated.) The Caliph consented to this method of appeasement and the peace-loving Vizir wrote a long letter in which he asked (the rebel) to return to obedience, rebuking him for his vices—neglecting the prayer, the payment of the zakat, committing grave sins ridiculing the precepts of Islam, and enslaving free women. The letter did not reach the addressee, who had died in the meantime, but his successor replied to him in a way which, across long centuries, still retains its original with and actuality: "All that you impute to me is pure libel, but if the Caliph believes us to be an impious lot of rebels, to be punished by war and death, why does he invite us to counsel to win our obedience?"

Story of Hallaj as told by Ibn Kathir

The story of Mansur Ibn al-Hallaj is told by Ibn Kathir n Volume XI, pp. 132-144. Tabari (d. 923 C.E.) (and 'Arib in his supplement to Tabari's *History*), expatiates at full ength³ on the miracles wrought by al-Hallaj, quoting all witnesses in fear of being punished if they proffered extenuating circumstances to his alleged blasphemies, and presents an epic description of an event which in its horror still touches

the reader as the martyrdom of a Christ. Ibn al-Athir (d. 1234 C.E. abbreviated the horrible story and presented it in a more concise shape; but, even thus, it deeply thrills us, moving sentimental souls nigh to tears. Ibn Kathir, who died more than a century later in 1372 C.E., witnessed some of the changes which have manifested themselves in the conception of the role of Mansur. He thought it necessary to enumerate all the alleged vices of Mansur in the course of his narrative, but alleviates them by opening the relevant chapter with the words of excuse: "We ask the protection of God not to impute to him (Mansur al-Hallaj) words which he has never told, or to impeach his words or deeds."

In the sequel he relates the sad story, based on Tabari. Ibn al-Athir, al-Jauzi, Khatib al-Baghdadi and al-Suli, not omitting the anecdotes concerning his tricks of jugglery (Sha'badha) recalling a parrot to life, collecting money out of the air, extracting a cucumber from the barren sand, and alleging that as there is one God in Heaven, there is one on earth, and that it was he (Hallaj) who drowned people in the time of Noah, and who appointed Moses and Aaron to their mission, who created another book similar to the Qur'an; in a word, he taught that God was incarnate in himself (hulul). Ibn Kathir describes how Hallaj travelled to India to learn some tricks, but he does not mention the rope-trick, which occurs only in the version of Ibn Miskawayh and the Kitab al-'Uyun and the lore of Hindu sages. He quotes witnesses to his blasphemies and records that he was a wicked unbeliever (kafir khabith), but, on the other hand, he adduces arguments for his piety: "He stayed in the court of the holy mosque of Mecca in cold and heat, training himself to endurance, he sat only under the open sky, neither eating nor drinking, except a dry piece of round bread (qurs) for the whole year. He used to squat on a bare rock on the hill of Qubais (near the sanctuary) in the burning sun". Ibn Kathir amply quotes from his poems, and exclaims pityingly that after his execution booksellers were forbidden to traffic in his works. Some of the Sufi mystics joined him, as they noticed in his ejaculations the inner meaning of the eternal truths of all religions: love of God and love towards God, the yearning of the soul to escape from the mortal prison and unite with the Absolute. Even the innates of the palace and the Caliph Muqtadir himself are shown as inclining towards an appreciation of, or at least a wish of grasping, the intentions of this miraculous man.

Periods of history when belief and rapturous love for the Creator appear triumphant

Greek cultural history teaches us that when Greek philosophers exhausted their wisdom, and when their speculations by reason led them into a vacuum, philosophy broke down and belief and rapturous love for the Creator entered triumphantly into the spirit and heart of men. Whatever ills and doubts reason with its cold spirituality could not solve, the human heart and human suffering tried to explain and to remedy. The philosophy of the ancients was supplanted by the creed of the Old and New Testaments. Similarly, in Islamic lands, the Aristotelian philosophy of reason raised insurmountable doubts and destroyed pure belief; scepticism did not even spare the Holy Qur'an and endangered the social structure of the Muslim community.

³ Tarikh al-Umam wa 'l-Muluk, Cairo, ed. Vol. XII, pp. 45-55.
4 For a full account of Tabari's relative report on Mansur al-Hallaj see E. G. Brown, A Literary History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 428; Ibn al-Athir, Tarikh al-Kamil, Cairo, ed. Vol. VIII, p. 40.
5 Vol. XI, pp. 132-144.

A reaction against this rationalism set in the form of sectarian movements (extreme Shi'ites, Qarmatians, Sufi mystics, pantheists), the apostles of which sects appealed to human feeling in order to alleviate human suffering. In the West, Christian mystics vied with ascetics in reaching a higher plane than rigid rationalism could secure. In the Muslim East, apostles and innovators of the faith arose to rouse the people from spiritual lethargy.

Orthodox Islam began to petrify in the tenth century of the Christian era, and slowly created an atmosphere nurtured by class interests. Islam has no clergy, still the respected representatives of the learned formed a closed circle which organized itself against external encroachment. This class-conscious clericalism has excommunicated or sent to the gallows many an innovator in centuries past and

Poetic utterances of Mansur al-Hallaj

Mansur al-Hallaj was a mystic pantheist, who strove to find God everywhere, as His presence is manifested everywhere. He taught, according to witnesses, that the ceremony of the pilgrimage could be performed anywhere, in a room specially prepared for the purpose. Orthodoxy could not tolerate such a liberal view. He was condemned to be affixed for a while to a cross or a gibbet on the Eastern, then the Western, shore of the Tigris in the presence of the soldiers. He was then thrown into prison, where he could still communicate with his followers. His poetic utterances betray an extraordinary power of belief in his mission:

"There descendeth the effulgent Lord of Light who flasheth after his shining.

Ne'er for my heart did I comfort or pleasure or peace obtain:

Wherefore, indeed, should I seek them, prepared as I was for pain?

I mounted the steed of a perilous quest and wonder is

At him who hopeth in hazardous pathways safely to

'Tis as though I were caught in waves which toss me about,

Now up, now down, now up in the perilous main. There burns a fire in my vitals, there dwells a grief in my heart;

Summon my eyes to witness, for my tears bear witness plain."

There was a fear that the executioners might waver under the mighty impression which his personality exercised, and it was forbidden to listen to his words. He was sentenced to be flogged, feet and hands cut off, decapitated and cremated! He walked fearlessly to the place of execution reciting the following verses:

"My friend doth unrelated stand to aught of ruth or clemency:

From his own cup He bade me sup, for such is hos-

But when the Wine had circled round, for sword and death-mat calléd He.

Who with the Dragon drinketh Wine in Summer, such his fate shall be."7

Just before his head was struck off, he bade his disciples to be of good cheer, for he could return to earth again in thirty days. The cruel deed was performed. What was mortal in that sacrificed departed, but the spirit transformed into belief

rose phoenix-like from the ashes which were scattered in the Tigris. Ibn Kathir, based on 'Arib and al-Hamadhani, reports that there was a flood in the Tigris after his execution, and his followers declared that this was because the ashes of his burnt body had been cast into the river. His disciples declared that not he, but one of his foes transformed into his likeness, suffered death and mutilation.

Later eminent Muslim writers on Mansur al-Hallaj

Sufis imply that he was crucified, trying to establish a resemblance between him and Jesus Christ. And Ibn Kathir's version easily leads one to such a sympathetic conception. Al-Ghazali, who strove to reconcile orthodoxy with Sufism, mentions and excuses him in his Lamp Niche of Lights (Mishkat al-Anwar). Farid-al-Din Attar speaks of him as "that martyr of God in the way of God, that lion of the thicket of the search after truth". He even celebrates his miracles, saying "some charge him with practising magic, while some Zahirites denounce him as an infidel". "I am while some Zahirites denounce him as an infidel". "I am astonished," he remarks, alluding to Moses and the burning bush, "at those who consider it proper that the words 'Verily I am God' should come from a tree which is as though non-existent, and who yet regard it as improper that the words 'I am the Truth' should come from the tree of Mansur al-Hallaj's being when Mansur was no longer there". Persian mystics, like Jami and Hafiz, speak in terms of admiration for him.

Even a greater respect and paramount submission to the lofty spirit of Mansur is doled out by the Turkish mystic poets, whose patron saint he has become, to whom love and veneration are due.

The last words of Mansur al-Hallaj when standing under the gibbet

Dr. Abu '1-'Ula 'Afifi quotes the sublime supplication spoken by Mansur while standing under the gibbet:

"O God! Verily Thou art above all conception, absolved from all imagination. By the right that Thou hast stood by my right and by the right that I have stood up for Thee, my assertion of Thy right contravenes Thine aid in my favour — I may thank Thee for all the benevolence Thou hast bestowed on me, by blinding others from that which Thou hast revealed unto me, beholding Thy vision, and by prohibiting others from that Thou hast opened to my eyes gazing into the intricacies of Thy secret. They are Thy worshippers though they foregathered to kill me, because they cling blindly to Thy religion, and try to approach Thy presence. Oh! pardon them, then verily if Thou hadst revealed that which Thou didst reveal to me, they forsooth had not wrought what they did. And if Thou hast concealed from me what Thou hast concealed from them, I should not have experienced the trial I did. Praise to Thee for what Thou doest, and Praise to Thee what Thou willest."

It is impossible not to feel deeply thrilled by the tone and thoughts of these sentences, which hallow the memory of many a Muslim saint and seer who sacrificed their lives for the benefit of their erring brethren.

We thank the liberality of King Ibn Sa'ud for the wonderful edition of Ibn Kathir's work which offers us enjoyable and highly profitable reading.

⁶ E. G. Brown's translation. 7 See Muhammad 'Ali's Translation of the Holy Qur'an and Commentary, p. 241.



EGYPT IN THE NEW ERA

LAND REFORMS

600,000 ACRES TO BE TAKEN OVER FOR DISTRIBUTION AMONGST THE LANDLESS PEASANTS

Lt.-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, who has put Egypt on the map

he need for land reforms

Since 23rd July 1952 Egypt has seen national reforms aunched and make progress. The fundamental structure of he country has been rejuvenated by legislation designed to weep away all that had been impeding national progress and ctivity and held the people under the twin yoke of servitude

nd poverty.

Among these has been the long-needed agrarian reform, naking a drastic change in the country's agrarian pattern. Possession of agricultural land had grown in Egypt to be the nost reliable and the most tempting form of capital investment. Prices of good land exceeded the extraordinary figure of £1,500 per acre. On the other hand wages for the farm workers were far too low to afford them anything approaching a decent standard of living. Under these conditions there was but slow progress in other spheres which needed capital investment to move ahead; for land was the big attraction and the handful of big landowners lived luxuriously on the accome from their estates while the great mass of the population existed in misery. As population increased so these conditions were worsening.

At the beginning of the present century Egypt's population was 11,000,000 and the total cultivated area was ,097,00 acres in the possession of landowners. During the ast fifty years the population has grown to 21,000,000, yet ultivated land only moved up to 5,962,660 acres, held now by 2,760,661 landowners. The growth in the number of landowners during this period has been seen almost entirely mong the landlords of the smallholder variety, owning five cres or less, and a high proportion of whom owned only a raction of one acre. The number of the bigger landowners emained almost stationary, as did their holdings.

Now the new law and agrarian policy has fixed 200 acres the maximum area of agricultural property which can be in he hands of any single individual. Any area in excess of this mit is being requisitioned by the Government during the oming five years against nominal stocks, payable in thirty

ears, with an interest of 3 per cent.

The compensation price paid for requisitioned areas is eing stabilised at seventy times the normal land tax. This oncerns 2,115 big landowners — or only eight in ten housand of the total number of landowners. Yet the area in he possession of this landed class amounts to no less than

1,208,491 acres, or 19 per cent of the total cultivated area of the country. The total of land to be taken over from these big landlords is calculated to be about 600,000 acres, and this area is being sold in lots of between two and five acres to small cultivators who now possess less than five acres. The price of this land to them will be 15 per cent above that paid by the Government; it will be paid over a thirty-year period with interest at the rate of 3 per cent. To keep holdings on an economic footing there will be no future subdivision of any areas of five acres or less.

Formation of co-operatives obligatory among the new land owners

To ensure the proper management of these farms and land, the law on agrarian reform makes the formation of co-operatives among the new landowners obligatory, and these groups will receive guidance and supervision from the Ministry of Social Affairs. The law has also taken within its scope the fixing of minimum wages for farm labourers, and there are special regulations to ensure security of tenure. Rents for such land are also being fixed, with a maximum calculated at seven times the Government's land tax.

Since the law was promulgated on 9th September 1952, a total of 254,532 feddans of land has been requisitioned. Of this total, 49,163 feddans have already been distributed to landless peasants since the programme for distribution of land commenced on 23rd July 1953. The total acreage distributed so far will affect 13,442 families; the total number of individuals who will benefit, therefore, is 79,180. This important work is being done by the Higher Committee in

charge of the Agrarian Reform Programme.

This Higher Committee will not only see to it that the land distributed goes to the new landowners, but will also supervise the cultivation of the land immediately after distribution. To add to this there are the numerous facilities given to those who need them in the course of cultivation and harvesting, which will greatly improve production as well as secure for the *fellah* the highest possible income. Out of this income the new landowner will pay the annual instalments. Recent announcements by the responsible spokesmen of the Higher Committee indicated that as a result of land distribution and zeal and interest shown by the new landowner, together with the advice and help given by the

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Higher Committee, yield has increased in both Lower and Upper Egypt.

The contrast was clear in pre-Revolution plantations, where the yield has remained the same since the old system

of cultivation still prevails.

It remains true that the backbone of the Agrarian Reform Programme is the efficient administration of the co-operative societies at work. In each of these co-operative societies the Higher Committee has a representative. This representative is to make sure that the policy rules laid down by the Committee are being observed. These co-operatives have to render to landowners many useful functions, such as securing loans of mechanized agricultural implements, fertilisers and seeds. The success of these co-operatives was so striking that the Higher Committee is seriously contemplating the establishment of a co-operative union to embrace representatives from the various co-operatives.

The aim of the Agrarian Reform of 1952 and its success

The ultimate aim of the law, from the economic point of view, is to raise the standards of living without neglecting considerations of equity. Priority when assigning land is given to peasants who were cultivating the land when the law was issued. The whole system is based upon the idea that the amount of land allotted should guarantee the new owner a certain standard of living, scientifically studied and calculated.

In distributing these allotments to families the first consideration is taken of the number of its members, and of the income to keep the family as one unit, and not of any particular individual — consequently the land allotted to a particular family cannot be divided up by the members of that

family on the occasion of the death of its head.

The Agrarian Reform Law is not in any way confined to distribution of land to landless peasants, but has other farreaching aims and functions. It aims, among other things, at developing the rural industries, improving livestock breed-

ing and to introduce mechanized farming.

The Higher Committee will have the welfare at heart of all those families under its supervision, and all profit made by this Committee will be utilized in social and economic schemes in the interest of the farmer himself. Last but not least, the Higher Committee is actively engaged in planning to start a dairy industry in Lower Egypt.

The success of this gigantic experiment under the Agrarian Reform Law has achieved great success, and won

praise from the United Nations and world Press.

Egypt's determination to expand her agricultural land area

Evidence of Egypt's energy and determination to improve the lot of the peasant and farmer and expand her productive agricultural land has been the rapid advance in land reclamation. Whole areas of what was formerly desert are being transformed into fertile areas. In one particular area, known now as "Liberation Province", this work has made great strides. Its produce is already selling in the markets of Cairo. Efficient production of vegetables and fruit is the main target in this model province, where all modern agricultural methods are used. Work is now in hand on some 300,000 acres of waste land which in modern history has never borne fruit before.

In other fields, timber is being planted, not only for soil conservation purposes, but to provide a reserve of timber to offset the importation of wood, which is now the order of the day. The Ministry of Agriculture is running campaigns and strongly urging farmers to use pedigree and tested seeds, which give high yields and better quality produce. To feed

the land, there are new works under construction to increase Egypt's output of nitrogenous fertilizers.

Irrigation and drainage problems are a constant source of study, and improvements are being made all the time.

One novel scheme now under way is to breed fish in the rice fields, which for months lie under water. The fish bred in this manner should help give the farmer his full requirement of animal proteins, which has been lacking for so long and will help raise the standard of nutrition in the country.

Big modern silos and granaries are under construction in various parts of the country to afford safe and economic

storage for grain crops.

The problem facing Egypt today is that her total land area is something like 400,000 square miles — or roughly the size of Germany and France together. But only that part bordering on the Nile, which represents something in the region of 13,600 square miles, or 3.5 per cent of the total land area, is available as arable land. It is this minute proportion of the whole country which has to support some 95 per cent of the total population, the remainder being nomadic peoples clustered about oases and moving with the seasons. Even from this figure, lakes, canals, marshes and rivers take up a further 2,850 square miles.

The most up-to-date Government estimate is that to maintain its 21,000,000 population, there are only about 6,000,000 acres of farmland. This has been described abroad as a "sociological nightmare" — but Egypt is tackling it.

Major irrigation works projects

Major irrigation works are in train. Egypt's co-operation with Britain and Uganda in the Owen Falls hydro-electric scheme is one example. Through this joint enterprise, Lake Victoria will store water for Egypt in what is the largest single reservoir in the world and which is approximately the size of Ireland.

There is also a project which is well advanced to cut or dredge a great canal through the vast Sudd region of the Sudan, where today, as the Nile passes through this swamp region, over 50 per cent of the water is evaporated by the tropical sun and lost to both countries. Both Egypt and the Sudan can reap great benefit from this ambitious Jonglei Canal scheme. There is also a new "High Dam" project under urgent consideration on the borders of the Sudan, and a longer term proposal is to harness the rich Nile waters as they leave far-off Lake Tsana en route from the highlands of Ethiopia,

All these schemes mean vast capital expenditure, and some require international co-operation; they can only be spread over a period of years. Egypt is not sitting idle in front of her massive population and land problem, but taking positive action which will bear fruit in the years to come.

Irrigation in Egypt has always been a science, but now it is wedded to the vital need to reclaim the great space of the desert, water it and convert it into rich food-producing areas to sustain a vigorous population.

Egypt's Permanent Council of National Production

The activities of the Permanent Council of National Production Development cover a wide field, embracing Government-sponsored schemes to raise living standards for the *fellah* and industrial workers as well as assisting Egypt's balance of payments position

balance of payments position.

Irrigation, land reclamation, variation in agricultural crops and improvement of farming methods, animal husbandry, electric power, communications, oil and mining development, new industries and the improvement of existing capacity, control of markets, export expansion, all come

within its purview, as well as the task of finding the necessary capital either from internal resources and from international

and foreign banks.

Egypt's latest Budget demonstrates the new focus on productive plans. Over £17,500,000 is devoted to irrigation, drainage, reservoirs and navigation, £2,600,000 for agricultural expansion, £2,650,000 for oil and mining development, £10,800,000 for communications, £2,250,000 for certain provincial exploitation schemes, and £5,080,000 for the Aswan Dam Hydro-Electric Scheme.

The four-year desert reclamation scheme, for example, has as its target the expansion of arable land in various parts of the country totalling 357,130 acres, plus improving subnormal farmland in the Menofiyeh Province covering 207,000 acres. The total cost of this plan is £11,700,000.

Besides improving land productivity new employment will be offered to those at present out of work, and big expenditure on the importation of foreign wheat will be

A new livestock experimental station in Ittai-el-Baroud will examine the best way of improving strains, and there is a scheme to produce insecticides locally from new factories.

The study of oil and mining laws and regulations is under way, by a special committee, in order to consolidate all mining activities under a centralized system. In order to ensure that mineral development moves swiftly, taxation upon all equipment and tools for mining work has been reduced. In addition, road and rail communications from the main mining areas with the Nile Valley are being improved at a cost of £3,000,000.

A new law designed to encourage foreign investment without encroaching upon national sovereignty and giving certain safeguards for local industry has been promulgated.

One of the major examples of novel ventures is the

Wadi-el-Natroun scheme, in an area between Cairo and Alexandria, where there are soda resources and where excellent water supplies have been discovered. The region therefore is to be a dual industrial-agricultural development

The Council is inviting foreign tenders for three big constructional plans, the extension of the Suez petroleum basin, a new dry dock and a marine arsenal at Alexandria.

The paper-making industry in Egypt is already established, but a study is being made of plans to build a new factory which will give an additional annual output of 20,000 tons.

Importation of medicinal preparations now cost Egypt over £5,000,000 each year, despite existing manufacturing capacity. The Production Council is going into the question of augmenting such necessities locally.

In fisheries the aim is to exploit the rich resources of the Red Sea, the Mediterranean and various lakes in the Delta region. Already the advice of international experts has

been sought so that study can be completed.

To bring in electric light and power into the towns and villages all over the country, as well as increasing its use in industry, a technical committee is now framing an overall project, but this must necessarily take some years to fulfil.

Mechanizing agriculture, enlarging the canning industry, improving marine workshops, enlarging shipbuilding activity, improvements in marine transport, are also included among the manifold responsibilities of the Council of National Production Development. Meanwhile Arab refugees from Palestine, now living east of Suez, also come within the attention of the Council, which has a project to provide them with suitable employment. The Council is in active consultation with the United Nations Organization representatives in both Cairo and Beirut.





Above — His Majesty King Faisal II and the Crown Prince of Iraq, His Royal Highness Prince 'Abd al-Ilah, are entering the premises of the Women Teachers' Technical College at Ankara, Turkey, while students who have lined the path are cheering their distinguished visitors.

Right — His Majesty King Faisal II of Iraq.

Below — Our picture shows His Majesty the King of Iraq and His Royal Highness Prince 'Abd al-Ilah at a dinner given in their honour by the President of the Republic of Turkey, Mr. Jalal Bayar, at the Chankaya Palace, Ankara.



TURKEY

His Majesty King Faisa

(Sunday, 26th June, 19

BROTHERS



Iraq:

Area: 172,000 square miles. Population: About 5,000,000.

Flag: Three equal horizontal stripes in green, white and black with a red quadrilateral at the mast bearing two seven-pointed stars symbolising the fourteen administrative provinces of Iraq.

The strategic importance ap

D IRAQ

State Visit to Turkey

rsday, 5th July, 1955)

BROTHERS



Turkey:

a: 294,502 square miles.
ulation: 20,936,524 (majority is Muslim).
2: Red with a white crescent and a star.
versities: Three. The Istanbul University has 12,000 students, of which number 2,546 are women.

ng is the only country in raneously and superficially



Above — His Majesty King Faisal II of Iraq is making a tour of the steelworks at Karabük, Turkey.

Karabük is the centre of Turkish heavy industry.

Left — The third President of the Turkish Republic, His Excellency Mr. Jalal Bayar.

Below — His Majesty the King of Iraq is showing a keen interest in the laboratory experiments of the Higher Institute of Agriculture at Ankara, Turkey.



KING FAISAL II OF IRAQ'S VISIT TO TURKEY

His Majesty King Faisal II of Iraq paid an official visit to Turkey as guest of the President of the Turkish Republic, Mr. Jalal Bayar. He was accompanied by Prince 'Abd al-Ilah and was joined in Turkey by the Prime Minister of Iraq, His Excellency Mr. Nuri al-Sa'id. King Faisal's official visit, during which he was given a rousing welcome wherever he went, concluded on 5th July 1955.

King Faisal arrived in Istanbul on 26th June 1955 and later left for the Turkish capital, where he stayed for four days. In Ankara the King was the guest of honour at a military parade which lasted three hours and was one of the biggest ever held in honour of a foreign visitor. On 1st July 1955 he visited Zonguldak to inspect Turkey's richest mines.

King Faisal's visit to Turkey was significant, not only because the two countries were bound by affection and historical considerations, but also because they were bound by the Turco-Iraqi Alliance, which was a gain for the cause of Middle East and world peace, and which would, in the course of time, be joined by other countries, thus strengthening brotherliness and co-operation.

The Turkish President's speech

"Your Majesty, Your Highness.

"The visit with which you have honoured our country has touched us profoundly and has given us real pleasure. The Turkish nation greets you very respectfully and warmly. It welcomes you in Turkey as it does all those Iraqis who serve their country. It is needless for me to talk of the great importance which the Turkish people attaches to the friendship and alliance of Iraq. I am certain that you will experience this for yourself during your next visit, which will do us a great honour.

"By the signing of the Iraqo-Turkish Pact, our friendship inaugurates a new era of co-operation which will safeguard the interests of the Middle East, of the Arab world and of the whole of the Mediterranean region in the surest and most efficacious way.

"This Pact carries in it something more than declarations and customary assurances, because it goes beyond these and because it is the fruit of sincere intentions and mature reflection. It also contributes equally towards the maintenance and reinforcement of peace and mutual international co-operation while respecting the independence of each country in complete justice. I cherish jealously the sacred and happy memories which my visit to the brotherly and friendly country of Iraq has given me. At the time of that visit, I was able to see for myself that the Iraqi people and its farsighted rulers had decided to follow the only intelligent and salutary path of peace.

"The thing which gave me great pleasure was to feel how strong and solid was the social stability in Iraq, thanks to its régime of constitutional monarchy. And this stability is useful and vital to her friends and allies."

The speech of His Majesty the King of Iraq

His Majesty King Faisal II replied to the speech of the President of the Republic of Turkey in the following words: "Mr. President.

"The warm welcome which has been extended to us in Turkey, our neighbour and ally, by the people and the Government, has left a deep impress on me. The words of welcome by which you have expressed your noble sentiments towards me and His Royal Highness the Crown Prince and the people of Iraq, have their echo in Iraq, where all hearts are beating fraternally for you and for the noble people of Turkey. My first visit to your beautiful and dear country has strengthened in me the love which I have always borne you and your country and its inhabitants. My affection for you and your country augments still further in admiration for the progress which you have made in all the vital spheres of life. I have been profoundly impressed by my visit, even though brief.

"My admiration will grow even more during my stay. Allow me, Your Excellency, to thank you on my behalf, on behalf of my uncle, the Crown Prince, and all those who accompany us, for the generous reception which you have reserved for us and to congratulate the Turkish people on the progress which it has accomplished. It is natural that the two neighbouring countries, joined as they are by the same religion and united by a long and secular history, and having now the community of vital interests, should experience the same joy at the idea of co-operating in all spheres and to know each other better, thanks to the friendly exchange of visits of their rulers.

"The first visit to Turkey which my grandfather, the founder of modern Iraq, His Majesty King Faisal I, made during the days of the renovator of the new Turkey, the late Atatürk, was the first stone in the solid edifice which both of us wish to construct for the friendship of our two countries. The friendly and fraternal relations have continued between us and have been reinforced with time, and one of the fruits of these friendly and fraternal visits has been the conclusion of the Pact of Baghdad, which must be the solid basis of peace, the stability and progress, not only of our two countries but also of the entire Arab world and the Middle East.

"The noble and worthy attitude which Turkey adopts towards the Arab cause, and, in particular, the Palestine problem, the support which the Turkish Delegation gave at Bandung to all the Arab points of view, these have compelled the admiration of Iraq and to it go the thanks of Iraq's Government and her people. Iraq, which is an integral and important part of the Arab world, to which she is bound by the Inter-Arab Pact and the Pact of the Arab League, wishes ardently that in marching along with Turkey she will contribute to reinforce the Arab integrity and bring to the Arab forces the new sources of energy to meet the dangers which menace it from outside as well as inside. Iraq hopes that in accomplishing this positive and constructive act, she would have opened new horizons to all those friendly countries and brothers who would like to co-operate in maintaining peace, stability and progress in the vital part of the world.

"In a word, permit me, Your Excellency, to reiterate my thanks for the warm reception which you have reserved for us and to wish you, personally, happiness and good health, and to the Turkish people greatness and prosperity."

ALCHEMY IN MEDIEVAL ISLAM'

JABIR, RAZI AND AVICENNA

Alchemy in Latin Europe was almost an Importation from Islam

By E. J. Holmyard

"For the period with which this article deals, any attempt to differentiate between alchemy and chemistry would be vain; chemistry as a science is not yet three centuries old, and the practical operations out of which it grew were the operations of alchemy. In the early Middle Ages the chief exponents of alchemy were Arabic-writing Muslims of various races, and our words alchemy and chemistry, whatever their ultimate origin, are derived immediately from the Arabic al-Kimiya. Western alchemy is almost entirely a direct legacy from Islam."

A definitive account of alchemy in medieval Islam is not yet possible

It is not yet possible to write a definitive account of alchemy in medieval Islam, for thousands of Arabic manuscripts on the subject lie unexamined in the great libraries of Europe, Egypt, Turkey, India and Pakistan. Not until they have been studied can a final estimate be made, and there are far too few scholars engaged on this task to make its early accomplishment feasible. In spite of Berthelot's pioneer efforts towards the end of the last century, little was known with certainty of Muslim contributions to alchemical theory and practice until the last few decades, though tradition, on the principle omne ignotum pro magnifico, ascribed to the Arabs a virtuosity in the occult arts that The Thousand and One Nights subsequently did much to reinforce. At the present time, owing mainly to the researches of H. E. Stapleton, Julius Ruska, M. Plessner and Paul Kraus, we can form a picture of Muslim alchemy that seems likely to be correct in outline, even though still seriously lacking in detail.

The Islamic era or Hegira dates from 622 C.E., the year of the Prophet's flight (hijrah) from Mecca. One hundred and ten years later, a Muslim army was defeated at Poitiers by Charles the Hammer. In the interval, Islam had become a vast empire stretching from the Indus to the Pyrénées, and many and various races had become incorporated into its civilization. Some of these peoples continued to speak their own languages, but Arabic was the religious, official and literary language throughout the empire. Thus it happened that numerous Muslim works on alchemy are Arabic only linguistically, their authors being of Persian or other nationality. The contribution of the Arabs to knowledge was no greater than that made by their Muslim, Christian and Jewish subjects.

Origins and transmission of alchemy

At the time of the rise of Islam, alchemy was already an art of venerable age. It was of a dual character. On the one hand it embraced specialized portions of metallurgy, dyeing and similar crafts, and impinged at many points on medicine. On the other hand it was a semi-physical cult of an eclectic kind, drawing its tenets whence it listed. The main aims of the alchemists were to prepare the philosophers' stone, which should convert base metals into gold, and further to prepare an elixir to prolong human life indefinitely.

The origin of alchemical theory is still far from clear, and possibly such speculation arose independently in more

than one early civilization. In the West it certainly owed much to Aristotle's views on the nature of matter and to the Pythagorean theory of numbers,² but the weight of evidence is that the fundamental ideas arose in the ancient Persian Empire, which included Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Forbes³ suggests that three streams of thought contributed to the rise of alchemy:

- (a) The philosophy and technology of the ancient Near East:
- (b) The philosophical tenets of the Persian and Indian civilizations; and
- (c) The philosophy and science of the Greeks.

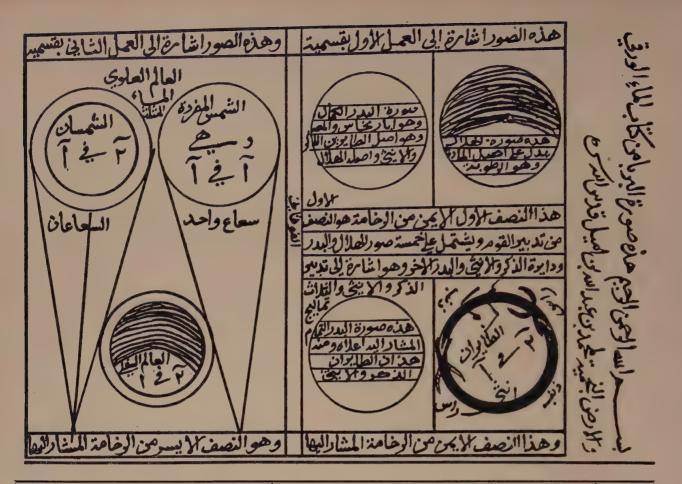
The earliest alchemical treatises come from Hellenistic Egypt. Perhaps the most ancient of them is the Physika kai Mystika (Physical and Mystical Matters) of an author writing under the name of Demokritos; he probably lived in the second century C.E. and is not to be confused with the celebrated philosopher Demokritos of Abdera (d. 376 B.C.). A large collection of alchemical writings was made by Zosimos of Panopolis (c. 300 C.E.), who also wrote original works on the subject, and many commentaries on earlier authors were compiled by succeeding Graeco-Egyptians such as Olympiodorus (c. 500?). Further north, alchemy was practised by the Sabians of Harran (Carrhae) in Syria. Harran, long since destroyed, was a cosmopolitan city at which, during the Achaemenid period (c. 650-530 C.E.), there began to take shape a remarkable inter-mixture of Persian, Syrian and Greek natural philosophy. This syncretic system remained a characteristic of Harran for several centuries, and the city's reputation for catholicity of learning was still high in early Islamic days. Harran is also known to have possessed many able metallurgists, and to have tried extensively in the precious metals, sulphur, sulphides of arsenic, borax and other substances commonly used in alchemy.

The Muslim conquerors soon manifested an enthusiasm for knowledge, and having overrun not only Alexandria and Harran but all the other principal centres of Greek learning they were able to indulge in it to the full. Under rulers such as Harun al-Rashid (764?-809 C.E.) and al-Ma'mun (786-833 C.E.) large numbers of academies and observatories were set up and the chief Greek works on philosophy,

¹ Courtesy, the Editor, Endeavour, London, England, Vol. XIV, No. 55 (July 1955).

² H. E. Stapleton, Ambix, 5, 1-43, 1953.

³ R. J. Forbes, Chymia, 4, 1, 1953.



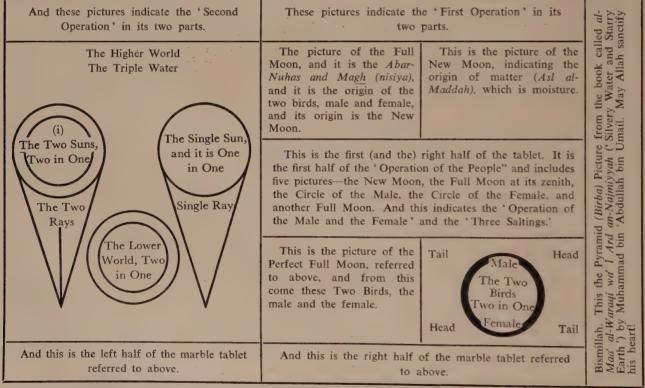


FIGURE 1.—Facsimile of a page of an Indian MS of the al-Maa' al-Waraqi containing symbolical pictures (with translation of texts given below). (From Mem. Asiat. Soc. Beng., 12, No. 1, Plate 1, 1933.)

(By courtesy of Dr. H. E. Stapleton)



FIGURES 2 AND 3.—Stills, from an Arabic alchemical manuscript (British Museum Add. 25724).



FIGURE 4.—From an Arabic alchemical manuscript. The inscription reads: Know that the compound referred to has specific weights that should be in equilibrium, so that the hotness does not overcome the coldness or the dryness overcome the moistness. For what is in equilibrium will possess permanent natures and will never undergo change, while natures not in equilibrium will suffer alteration. [Sun to the left, Moon to the right. Figures between possibly represent iron, copper, lead, tin, mercury, and Khar sini.] (British Museum Add. 25724.)

astronomy, mathematics, medicine and other sciences were translated into Arabic, principally by Syriac-speaking Nestorian Christians. From the eighth century onwards Islam was producing scholars of her own.

According to al-Nadim, a tenth century biographer, the first Muslim to interest himself in alchemy was Khalid Ibn Yazid (d. 704 C.E.), a son of the royal house but never himself Commander of the Faithful. Stapleton⁴ renders the relevant passage as follows:

"Being himself a scholar, he (Khalid) was greatly interested in the sciences. He was particularly attracted to the Art (of Kimiya): so he ordered some Greek philosophers who lived in the city of Misr (Cairo), and who had a good knowledge of Arabic, to be summoned, and instructed them to translate the books on the Art from the Greek and Coptic languages into Arabic. This was the first translation from one language to another in Islam."

Some Arabic alchemical works ascribed to Khalid are still in existence but have not yet been closely studied; most of them, like those of many later alchemists, are in verse.

Jabir Ibn Hayvan's identity

The greatest name in alchemy, whether Muslim or Christian, is that of Jabir or Geber: alchemists themselves were described by one of their number, Thomas Norton of Bristol (fifteenth century), as "Geber's cooks". The life and works of this master of the art have presented a very difficult historical problem, which, however, research carried out during the last fifteen years has gone far to solve. There seems no reason to doubt that at the court of Harun al-Rashid there was an alchemist named Jabir Ibn Hayyan al-Sufi, the son of a druggist of Kufa. As a young man he enjoyed the patronage of the sixth Shi'ite Imam, Ja'far al-Sadiq, and later that of the Caliph's powerful ministers the Barmecides. He was probably born in 721 or 722 C.E., but the date of his death is unknown; he is said to have survived the banishment of the Barmecides in 803 C.E. Muslim chroniclers describe him as a man of culture and scholarship, and say that he was active in securing the importation of further Greek works on science and philosophy from Byzantium.

Difficulties begin to arise when consideration is given to the very numerous treatises on alchemy that pass under his name. There are so many of them that it seemed hardly possible for one man to have written them all, and the suspicion grew that some at least were fathered on him by later writers. The brilliant investigations of Kraus⁵ showed that the suspicion was well founded. Critical examination of the Jabirian Arabic corpus proved beyond doubt that much of it must have been recensed or perhaps originally written by members of the Isma'ilite sect early in the tenth century. How much of the alchemical operations and theory described in it is of the eighth century and how much of the tenth must remain a matter of conjecture: here, for economy of words, it will be referred to merely as "Jabir".

Jabir's scientific theories

On the constitution of matter, Jabir held the Aristotelian conception of the four elements, fire, air, water and earth, but developed it on different lines. He postulated first the existence of four elementary qualities or "natures", namely

hotness, coldness, dryness and moistness. When these natures united with substance they formed compounds of the first degree, namely hot, cold, dry, moist. Union of two of these gave rise to fire (hot+dry+substance); air (hot+moist+substance), water (cold+moist+substance); and earth (cold+dry+substance). In metals, two of the "natures" are external and two internal, a point to which further reference is made later (p. 27). Thus in his *Book of Seventy* Jabir says that lead is cold and dry externally and hot and moist internally, as is also silver (but see p. 27); gold, on the other hand, is hot and moist externally and cold and dry internally.

He believed that, under the influence of the planets, metals were formed in the earth by the union of sulphur (which would provide the hot and dry "natures") and mercury (providing the cold and moist). This theory, which appears to have been unknown to the ancients, may have been original, though it is possible that Jabir appropriated it from Balanius (Apollonius of Tyana). The reason for the existence of different kinds of metal is that the sulphur and mercury are not always pure, and that they do not always unite in the same proportion. If they are perfectly pure, and if also they combine in the most complete natural equilibrium, then the product is the most perfect of metals, namely gold. Defects in purity, and particularly in proportion, result in the formation of silver, lead, tin, iron or copper, but since these metals are essentially composed of the same constituents as gold, the accidents of combination may be rectified by suitable treatment. Such treatment is the object of alchemy, and is to be carried out by means of

Jabir was convinced that to try to effect transmutations empirically was a waste of time; he believed that order reigned in the material world, and that qualitative changes in substances could be explained on a quantitative basis. He was thus led to his characteristic conception of "balance" (mizan), which he elaborated particularly in his Books of the Balance (Kutub al-Mawazin). By balance he did not refer to equality of weight; in fact, although he does describe a hydrostatic balance, the importance of comparing masses was as little perceived by him as by all other alchemists. His balance was an equilibrium of elementary qualities or "natures", and a great deal of his work was devoted to attempts to establish the equilibrium figures in gold — the perfect metal — so that the same balance could be effected in base metals, thus bringing about their transmutation.

Jabir and alphabetical numerology

Except for the history of ideas, it would be unprofitable to follow the development of such a scheme in detail, but it is of interest to examine one of the lines of attack. This has been done by Kraus⁶ and Stapleton,⁷ on whose work the following account is principally based. We find throughout Jabir's works a series of numbers to which he attaches great importance: it is 1, 3, 5, 8 (totalling 17), and 28. He says that everything in the world is governed by the number 17—metals, for instance, have 17 "powers". Now the numbers composing the total of 17, namely 1, 3, 5, 8, recall the magic square of the first nine digits:

⁴ H. E. Stapleton, Ambix, 5, 2, 1953.

⁵ P. Kraus, Jabir Ibn Hayyan, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo. Vol. I, 1943; Vol. II, 1942. Passim.

b Idem

⁷ H. E. Stapleton, Ambix, 5, 36-7, 1953.

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

Here the total is 45, but analysing the square gnomonically, as indicated by the heavy lines in the figure, gives 1, 3, 5, 8 in the remaining square, while the total in the gnomon is 28. This magic square, which was known to the Neoplatonists of the third century and is doubtless much older, is thus clearly the source of Jabir's significant numbers. He does not appear to have specifically mentioned it, but it must have been familiar to him not only from his acquaintance with Neoplatonist writings but because it had significance in the Sufi mystical society of which he was a member.

One way in which Jabir used these numbers was in the application of alphabetical numerology to elucidate the constitution of the metals. Each of the four elementary qualities or "natures" was supposed to have four degrees and seven sub-divisions, giving a total of 28×4 "positions". The letters of the Arabic alphabet, 28 in all, were assigned to the subdivisions of heat, coldness, dryness and humidity, and the scheme was extended to the values of the four degrees according to the series 1, 3, 5, 8. The degrees and subdivisions were equated to weights on the Arabic system of $2 \ qirats = 1 \ danaq$, $6 \ danaqs = 1 \ dirham$, and a table was constructed in which, for example, the letter b denoted, in the second degree of coldness, a weight of $3\frac{1}{2} \ dirhams$; in the fourth degree b corresponded to a weight of $9\frac{1}{3} \ dirhams$. The remaining letters were similarly "calibrated".

To determine the "balance" of lead on this scheme, its name was analysed arithmo-alphabetically, only the consonants being used. Lead in Arabic is usrub, but the first letter, not indicated in the transliteration, is the consonant alif. U being a vowel, the operative letters are therefore alif, s (sin), r (ra) and b (ba). Alif, being the first letter of the name, represents heat of the first degree, and is equivalent to a weight of 7 danags; sin, the second letter, represents dryness of the second degree, and is equivalent to 1 dirham; ra represents humidity of the third degree, 14 dirhams; and ba represents coldness of the fourth degree, that is 93 dirhams. Hence a lump of lead weighing 123 dirhams would contain the above weights of heat, dryness, humidity and coldness, and this composition would hold for any specimen of lead. The fact that another name for lead, namely rasas, gives an entirely different result may cause misgivings as to the reliability of this method of analysis.

It was mentioned earlier that Jabir distinguished between the external and the internal composition of a metal. One reason for this distinction can be found in the figures just elicited. Metals are composed of heat, cold, dryness and humidity, but there is a limiting condition: opposing "natures" are in the ratio of either 1:3 or 5:8 or vice versa. The figures for lead, however, do not agree with these ratios, and the difficulty is even greater when fidda (silver) is analysed in the same way — it proves to consist merely of heat and coldness in equal proportions. Jabir was therefore forced to use a further hypothesis, namely, that the analysis reveals only the peripheral constitution; the balance must be restored by the constitution of the interior. Hence for silver the total composition, external and internal together, must be arrived at by calculation:

Heat: $1\frac{1}{2} \ danaqs + \text{a complement of } 5\frac{1}{2} \ danaqs$ $= 1\frac{1}{6} \ dirhams$ Coldness: $1\frac{1}{2} \ danaqs + \text{a complement of } 3\frac{1}{4} \ dirhams$ $= 3\frac{1}{2} \ dirhams \quad (= 3 \times 1\frac{1}{6})$ Humidity: $0 \ danaqs + \text{a complement of } 5\frac{5}{6} \ dirhams$ $= 5\frac{5}{6} \ dirhams \quad (= 5 \times 1\frac{1}{6})$ Dryness: $0 \ danaqs + \text{a complement of } 9\frac{1}{3} \ dirhams$ $= 9\frac{1}{3} \ dirhams \quad (= 8 \times 1\frac{1}{6})$ $19\frac{5}{6} \ dirhams \quad (= 17 \times 1\frac{1}{6})$

The unit of $1\frac{1}{6}$ seems to be chosen here so that fractions of a *dirham* not represented by either a *danaq* or a *qirat* are avoided.

The transmutation of one metal into another is thus an adjustment of the ratio of the manifest and latent constitutions of the first to those of the second, an adjustment to be brought about by an elixir. According to Jabir there are various elixirs suitable for specific transmutations, but transmutations of every kind can be brought about by a grand or master elixir (al-iksir al-a'zam). The Alexandrian and Harranian alchemists appear to have used only mineral substances in their attempts to prepare elixirs for transmutation, but Jabir was an innovator and introduced both animal and vegetable products to the alchemical armoury. Among the former he mentions the marrow, blood, hair, bones and urine of lions, vipers, foxes, oxen, gazelles and donkeys both domesticated and wild. Suitable plants included aconite, olive, jasmine, love-in-a-mist, onion, ginger, pepper, mustard, pear and anemone.

Such lists provide an indication that Jabir was more than a theorizer, and there is indeed much in his books to show that he was well versed in chemical operations. Though his theory is complex, obscure, and often to our modern minds ridiculous, he can be perfectly clear when giving instructions for a preparation. A single example must suffice:

"To convert mercury into a red solid. Take a round glass vessel and pour a convenient quantity of mercury into it. Then take a Syrian earthenware vessel (Syrian pottery enjoyed a high reputation in those days) and in it put a little powdered sulphur. Place the glass vessel on the sulphur and pack it round with more sulphur up to the brim. Place the apparatus in the furnace for a night, over a gentle fire . . . after having closed the mouth of the earthenware pot. Now take it out and you will find that the mercury has been converted into a hard red stone the colour of blood . . . it is the substance that the learned call cinnabar."

Jabir's alchemical equipment

Of alchemical equipment, both substances and apparatus, Jabir gives a less systematic description than Razi (p. 28), but he does classify minerals into three groups. These are (a) spirits, or substances that volatilize completely on heating; (b) metals, or fusible substances that are malleable, sonorous, and possess a lustre; and (c) substances that, whether fusible or not, are not malleable and may be powdered. The spirits numbered five: sulphur, arsenic (sulphides), mercury, camphor, and sal ammoniac. This is one of the earliest Arabic mentions of sal ammoniac

(nushadur), which for a time was imported from inner Asia; it was probably obtained there as a sublimate from burning coal seams.⁸ Jabir, however, knew how to prepare it from organic matter, and distinguishes between the mineral form and the sal ammoniac "from hair".

There were seven new metals, namely gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, iron and *khar sini*. The last of these has not been identified with certainty; the name signifies "Chinese iron", and Muslim writers say that it was used in China to make mirrors with the power of curing ophthalmic maladies of sufferers looking into them. It was also cast into bells of a particularly melodious tone. According to Laufer, it was an alloy chiefly composed of copper, zinc and nickel; it gave a silvery surface when polished and was known as *pait-t'ung* or white copper. There could have been very little of it available in Islam, and for the most part it was included among the metals only to bring their number up to seven when mercury was classed as a spirit.

Jabir's classification of minerals other than spirits and metals was not consistent, but in one book he sorts them into eight groups, according to whether they are (a) stony or not stony, (b) pulverizable or not pulverizable, and (c) fusible or non-fusible. Though such a system cannot be pressed very far, it is at least on sensible lines.

It is a matter of considerable interest that the Arabic text of the celebrated Tabula Smaragdina, or Tmerald Table, of "Hermes" was first discovered in Jabir's Second Book of the Element of the Foundation; 10 before this discovery (1923) it had been known only in medieval Latin. Jabir says that he is quoting Apollonius of Tyana, and another version of the Tabula has been found in a book called The Secret of Creation (Sirr al-Khaliqa), probably dating from the early ninth century and ascribed to Apollonius. The original language of the Tabula is unknown, but there are indications that it may have been Syriac. In its Latin form it is perhaps the best-known piece of alchemical literature.

Some final remarks on Jabir must concern the problem of the authorship of the Latin works, such as the Summa perfectionis, ascribed to him. These appear first about the end of the thirteenth century, and of only one of them (the Book of Seventy — not included in any of the collected Latin editions) is an Arabic original known. The others admittedly show signs of Muslim influence, but that is true of most early Western alchemical works and is only to be expected in view of the fact that alchemy in Latin Europe was almost entirely an importation from Islam. The weight of evidence is in favour of the judgment that, because of the authority of his name, works written by an anonymous European alchemist were circulated as Jabir's.

Razi

Later than Jabir Ibn Hayyan, though possibly contemporaneous with the writing of some of the Jabirian corpus, was Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Zakariyya, known as al-Razi, "the man of Ray" (Rhagae), from his birthplace near Teheran. He lived from 866 to 926 C.E. Razi was the greatest physician of the Middle Ages, and his works on medicine enjoyed an unquestioned authority extending over some six hundred years. He made many contributions to gynaecology and ophthalmology, and the monograph in which for the first time he distinguished between smallpox and measles is one of the classics of medicine. He practised at his native town and also at the great hospital in Baghdad,

and his success as a clinician was matched by his outstanding ability as a teacher of medicine.

Like many physicians of medieval times, he was attracted to the study of alchemy and is said to have written a score of books on the subject; they have not all survived, but one of them, *The Book of the Secret of Secrets* (Kitab Sirr al-Asrar), has been translated into German and furnished with a commentary by Ruska. Much of his alchemical work has also been studied by Stapleton, who places him on an intellectual level with Galileo and Boyle.

The metaphysical background of Razi's alchemy resembles that of the Jabirian writings: it is Isma'ilite and therefore tends towards the spirit of free inquiry. The object of alchemy is still the transmutation of base metals into gold by means of elixirs, but a study of the Kitab Sirr al-Asrar and other books of Razi conveys the impression that he was much more interested in practical chemistry than in theoretical alchemy. The Kitab Sirr al-Asrar foreshadows a laboratory manual, and though the procedures described are often difficult to interpret they are probably representative of experiments that Razi himself had carried out. From the list he gives of materials and apparatus it is evident that his laboratory was very well equipped. It had beakers, flasks, phials, basins, glass crystallizing dishes, jugs, casseroles, candle-lamps, naphtha-lamps, braziers, athanors, smelting furnaces, files, spatulas, hammers, ladles, shears, tongs, sandand water-baths, filters, chair-cloth and linen, alembics, aludels, funnels and mortars. In addition, Razi gives details of the construction of more complicated pieces of apparatus from these and other units.

Razi's laboratory

His store-cupboard contained not only specimens of all metals then known, but pyrites, malachite, lapis lazuli, gypsum, haematite, turquoise, galena, stibnite, alum, green vitriol, natron, borax, common salt, lime, potash, cinnabar, white lead, red lead, litharge, ferric oxide, cupric oxide, verdigris and vinegar. Stapleton has adduced reasons for believing that Razi was also familiar with caustic soda and glycerol. It is uncertain whether he was acquainted with sulphuric and nitric acids, but nitric acid was known to Jabir, who describes its preparation, and it was early used for the parting of gold and silver.

Avicenna

Abu 'Ali Ibn Sina, known to the West as Avicenna, was born in 980 and died in 1036 C.E. Like Razi, he was a Persian of extraordinary intellectual capacity and a prolific writer, and his books had wide popularity both in Islam and in medieval Europe. It has been well said of him that his thought represents the climax of medieval philosophy. His most important works were the Canon of Medicine and the philosophical encyclopaedia Kitab al-Shifa, or Sanatio.

In the mineralogical section of the Shifa, which in

⁸ J. Ruska, 'Al-Razi's Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse, p. 39, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin, Vol. 6, Berlin 1937.

⁹ B. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, p. 555. Field Museum of Natural History, Publ. 21, Chicago 1919.

¹⁰ E. J. Holmyard, Nature, Lond., 112, 525, 1923. Cf. also M. Plessner, "Hermes Trismegistus and Arab Scienie". Studia Islamica, II, 45-9, 1954.

¹¹ See Reference 8.

medieval times and in Latin translation circulated under the title Liber de mineralibus and was ascribed to Aristotle,12 Avicenna accepts the sulphur-mercury theory of metals but expresses emphatic disagreement with the claims of the alchemists. There is little doubt, he says, that alchemists can contrive to make solids closely resembling gold and silver, but these products are mere imitations. "I do not deny," he proceeds, "that such a degree of accuracy in imitation may be reached as to deceive even the shrewdest, but the possibility of transmutation has never been clear to me. On the contrary, I regard it as impossible, since there is no way of splitting up one metallic combination into another. Those properties that are perceived by the senses are probably not the differences that distinguish one metallic species from another, but rather accidents or consequences, the essential specific differences being unknown." In other words, while accepting that metals were of a compound nature, Avicenna thought their structure too stable to be affected by fusion and other alchemical methods. "It is likely," he writes, "that the proportion of the elements that enter into the composition of each of the metals is different from that of any other. If this is so, one metal cannot be converted into another unless its structure is broken up and converted into the composition of that into which its transformation is desired. This, however, cannot be effected by fusion, which maintains the union and merely causes the introduction of some foreign substance or virtue.'

Avicenna's views received little support; they were in advance of their time, and the alchemists pursued their search for elixirs undisturbed by doubts and with undiminished enthusiasm.

Other alchemists in medieval Islam: Ibn 'Umail, Maslama and Jildaki

A younger contemporary of Avicenna was Ibn 'Umail, one of whose alchemical books, *The Silvery Water* (Al-Maa' al-Waraqi), was translated into Latin in the Middle Ages and is printed in Zetzner's *Theatrum Chemicum* (1622). This work, the Arabic text of which was edited by Turab 'Ali¹³ in 1933, is important as containing numerous quotations from earlier alchemical treatises otherwise unknown. Ibn 'Umail was of the opinion that the pyramids of Egypt were designed for the practice of alchemy, thus agreeing with the historian al-Nadim (c. 988 C.E.), who says: "A pyramid contains rooms of different shapes in which are places for admixture, pounding, solution, coagulation and distillation, which indicates that each of them was built for the art of *Kimiya*". Symbolic "pyramid" figures from a manuscript of the al-Maa' al-Waraqi are reproduced in Fig. 1.

An early tenth century work, ascribed — though with doubtful justification — to the Spanish Arab Maslama of Madrid, is called *The Sage's Step.*¹⁴ It contains the usual preponderance of theory, but there is also much straightforward information on various practical operations, particularly the refinement of gold and silver by cupellation and other methods. The author appears to have had more regard to quantitative observation than was usual, and in one experiment took a quarter of a pound of mercury, heated it moderately for forty days, and then weighed the resulting red powder; he could find no change in weight, but the fact that he made the determination is indicative of a careful and inquiring mind.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the transmission of alchemical theory and practice from Islam to the West was accompanied by a decline in the number of Arabic writers on the subject: though perhaps future research will show that the decline was not as great as our present knowledge leads us to assume. Such books as were written were generally rearrangements of earlier ones or commentaries on them. Thus Abu 'l-Qasim al-'Iraqi, who lived in the thirteenth century, appropriated passages from the al-Maa' al-Waraqi and other books, with or without acknowledgment, and in doing so was merely following a common practice. There is, however, something to be said in favour of these purveyors of secondhand wares, for they often enable us to fill gaps in our knowledge of the earlier literature. One of them in particular, Aidamur al-Jildaki, 15 is a most valuable source of information; with him, this sketch of Muslim alchemy may fittingly end.

Little is known of Jildaki's life. He flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century, lived for a time in Cairo, and spent seventeen years in extensive travel to meet the principal alchemists of the time and to collect alchemical writings. Most of the remainder of his life he must have devoted to authorship, for he wrote at least twenty-five books, some of them very lengthy. Their value lies in the very numerous quotations that Jildaki fortunately saw fit to include in them, a value enhanced by the general accuracy with which the quotations are made. In many cases the original works are still in existence, and examination of them shows that Jildaki was a careful copyist; we may therefore with fair confidence accept as genuine other passages of which no earlier provenance is known.

The great bulk of Jildaki's work still awaits detailed study, but a full examination has recently been made by Taslimi¹⁶ of the Nihayat al-Talab, or End of the Search, which is a commentary by Jildaki on Abu 'l-Qasim al-Iraqi's book known as the Muktasab. The richness of the material offered by Jildaki may be judged from the fact that in the Nihayah alone he quotes from, or mentions, no fewer than forty-two works of Jabir and a large number of works by other authors, including Ibn 'Umail, Avicenna (whom he accuses of plagiarizing al-Farabi), Maslama, Khalid Ibn Yazid and Razi. Another of Jildaki's books that would well repay study is the Kitab al-Burhan or Book of Proof, which contains a commentary on The Book of the Seven Idols ascribed to Apollonius of Tyana. Taslimi says that there is a great deal of similarity between the ideas contained in the quotations from Jabir given in the Nihayah and those found in the Latin works of Geber; he does not, however, think the correspondence sufficient to establish a close connection.

¹² E. J. Holmyard and D. C. Mandeville, Avicennae De Congelatione et Conglutinatione Lapidum, Geuthner, Paris 1927.

^{13 &#}x27;Ali Turab, Mem. Asiat. Soc. Beng., 12, i., 1-104, 1933. The Arabic text is here accompanied by an excursus on the writings and date of Ibn Umail and an edition of the Latin rendering of the Ma' al-Waraqi by H. E. Stapleton and M. H. Husain.

¹⁴ E. J. Holmyard, Isis, 18, 293-305, 1924.

¹⁵ Idem. Iraq, 4, 47-53, 1937,

¹⁶ M. Taslimi. Thesis approved for the Ph.D. degree, University of London, 1954. Not yet published.

¹⁷ E. J. Holmyard, 'Al-Ilm al-Muktasab fi Zira'at al-Dhahab, Geuthner, Paris 1923.

PAKISTAN AT THE UNITED NATIONS

By Akhtar Husain

"In fact, it is conceivable that Pakistan's record of performance might have been different if she had not been favoured by certain circumstances. First, Pakistan had the advantage of being a very young country, possessing in a large measure the burning faith, the idealism and earnestness of youth. Secondly, the Pakistanis saw in the objectives of the United Nations the nearest approach to the principle of 'Brotherhood of Man' so emphatically proclaimed by the Prophet of Islam 1,300 years ago but which so far had remained a dream without substance."

Pakistan's affirmation of the aims of the United Nations

Pakistan achieved independent and sovereign status on 14th August 1947 — that is, less than eight years ago. Almost the very first international action of its Government was to apply for membership of the United Nations, to which Pakistan was admitted a few weeks later. By becoming a member of the United Nations, Pakistan solemnly undertook, in the noble words of the Organization's Charter, to combine her efforts with other nations to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to secure the observance of fundamental human rights, to uphold the dignity and enhance the worth of the human person, to obtain recognition for and secure observance of the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small, to maintain justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom; and, for these ends, to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, to united strength to maintain international peace and security, to ensure that armed force shall not be used save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of economic and social advancement of all peoples, etc.

On the occasion of her admission as member, Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, the Pakistan Foreign Minister and leader of the Pakistan Delegation, made a brief statement before the General Assembly which I would quote at some length because it gave the first indication of how this young nation looked at the problems of international peace and human progress and prosperity. After the formal acknowledgment of thanks he said:

"It is more than two years since the Second World War is supposed to have come to an end; yet the world is still groping for peace, which seems continuously to clude its grasp. The great nations, which were able to pool their resources and their statesmanship for the winning of the war, appeared to be inflicted with the incapacity to come to a frank and whole-hearted agreement on the lines upon which the foundations of peace should be laid. On behalf of my Government, I beg to convey to the United Nations the assurance that Pakistan will do all that lies within its power to bring about a better understanding among nations and to make the utmost contribution of which it is capable towards securing and maintaining lasting peace. It will also be ever ready, and indeed anxious, to make its due contribution towards the alleviation of all forms of human suffering and distress, and the promotion of beneficent co-operation among the nations for the general raising of standards of living and the fostering of liberty and tolerance throughout the world.

"In the past, armed conflict has resulted mainly from false notions of racial superiority, the desire for economic exploitation of the weak by the strong, and intolerance of ideas that were not in accord with those that one nation preferred for itself and desired to impose upon others. Pakistan will always endeavour to promote that which tends towards the widening of liberty and equality, beneficent co-operation, and the widest and deepest tolerance, as it is convinced that it is only through these means that peace can be assured and humanity speeded on towards the achievement of true prosperity.

"It would, I conceive, not be open to me at this stage to submit any observations on what the United Nations has so far achieved and what it has been unable to accomplish. Permit me, however, to say that we of the Pakistan delegation, while fully appreciating the ideals of the United Nations, are equally conscious of its handicaps and shortcomings. As has been said, however, this is an imperfect world, and it is precisely for this reason that a world organization of the character of the United Nations is indispensable, if mankind is to have a reasonable chance of escaping calamities and disasters out of all comparison with those which it has had to endure in the recent past. We are convinced that the United Nations offers to mankind its last chance of salvation in the political, economic and social fields, and that our united efforts ought to be directed towards strengthening the Organization, discovering means of making it work in the spirit in which it was founded, and achieving the ideals which have been set as its goal. Pakistan will always make its fullest contribution towards that end."

The reasons why Pakistan takes her membership of the United Nations so seriously

These are plain words and simple thoughts for which neither originality nor infallibility is sought to be claimed. What, however, in all humility, may be claimed is that Pakistan has taken her membership of the Organization seriously and sincerely and has brought to bear almost a religious zeal in the discharge of her obligations under the Charter. Her quantitative contribution to the work of the Organization has been ample and her treatment of problems objective and without fear or favour. Indeed, Pakistan, through her almost fanatical insistence upon the letter and spirit of the Charter's declared objectives, has not infrequently aroused feelings of resentment and antagonism in nations whose goodwill would have been considered highly desirable from ordinary standards of self-interest. Naturally, in this respect also, we do not claim to be unique among nations. In fact, it is conceivable that Pakistan's record of performance might have been different if she had not been favoured by certain circumstances. First, Pakistan had the advantage of being a very young country, possessing in a large measure the burning faith, the idealism and earnestness of youth. Secondly, the Pakistanis saw in the objectives of the United Nations the nearest approach to the principle of "Brotherhood of Man" so emphatically proclaimed by the Prophet of Islam 1,300 years ago but which so far had remained a dream without substance.

A brief survey of Pakistan's participation in the various United Nations agencies

The record of which the Pakistanis speak with evident satisfaction must necessarily be viewed in two parts, namely. (i) the extent or volume of Pakistan's participation in the Organization's work, and (ii) the quality or value of its contribution.

In regard to the first, during the period of her membership Pakistan has been elected to act on the following



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Commissions and Sub-Committees of the General Assembly or its Subsidiary Bodies:

Special Committee on the Balkans: 1947-51.

Sub-Commission on the Balkans: 1951-55. Council for Libya: 1948-51.

Commission for Eritrea: 1949-50.

Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea: 1950-55.

Special Committee on Information Transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter: 1951-53.

Committee on the Draft Convention on Freedom of Information: 1949-51.

Committee on International Criminal Jurisdiction: 1949-53.

Peace Observation Committee: 1950-55.

Commission to Investigate Conditions for Free Elections in Germany: 1952.

Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds: 1953-55.

Committee on Contributions: 1953-55.

Committee on South-West Africa: 1954.

Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression: 1952-53.

Committee on Special Administrative Questions: 1953.

Committee of Experts on Commodity Trade and Economic Development: 1954.

In addition, she served as a member of the Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council) from 1950 to 1952 and again from 1954 to 1956. In this important organ of the United Nations, Pakistan, apart from being elected President of the Council itself during one of its Sessions, has been invited to work on the following Commissions and Committees:

Transport and Communications Commission: 1950-55.

Fiscal Commission: 1949-54.

Commission on Human Rights: 1951-56.

Council Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations for 1950.

Commission on the Status of Women: 1952-54.

Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices: 1951-53.

Committee of Experts on a Special Fund: 1953.

In 1952-53, Pakistan was elected a member of the Security Council. In this capacity she also became a member of the Disarmament Commission.

In addition to these, Pakistan has been a valuable and active member of numerous specialized agencies, such as UNESCO, ECAFE, UNICEF, WHO, ILO, GATT, FAO, etc.

For a nation of Pakistan's comparatively short standing it is indeed a matter of very great satisfaction to have been asked to serve on these numerous bodies, commissions and sub-committees, some of which were of a highly important nature. I believe that at least to some extent the passionate devotion of Pakistan to the ideals and the objectives of the United Nations' Charter was responsible for the trust that has been placed in her.

Pakistan's policy in the matter of International subjects

Now, to turn to serious matters of policy! Participating in the work of the United Nations as Pakistan has done at a high level, she could not help developing strong lines of policy on problems and matters of all kinds. In this essay I cannot deal with matters of minor importance; I will confine my observations to those subjects and policies which have international significance and which are today agitating the minds of earnest men and women everywhere. These are, broadly speaking, (i) settlement of international disputes, (ii) maintenance of international peace, and (iii) promotion of economic prosperity and larger freedom for mankind in general.

There are roughly three kinds of international disputes which the United Nations has been called upon to intervene. The first category consists of disputes which arise from the struggle for national self-determination by the subject people of certain colonial territories and the endeavour on the part of the colonial powers to suppress such aspirations. The second category consists of disputes between two relatively small nations or two groups of people in the same territory. The third territory covers disputes and situations arising from the competition between the two great Power blocs of East and West in an attempt to extend their influence, usually on the periphery.

Libya, Indonesia, Indo-China, Morocco, Tunisia, Eritrea, Somaliland, and the Sudan

In regard to the first category of disputes, namely, those arising from colonial strife, Pakistan has held very clear and strong views in common with most of the United Nations member States from Asia and Africa. In formulating her approach to these disputes, Pakistan has not been motivated only by sentiment, but by her fully reasoned and honest conviction that international peace and harmony cannot be achieved unless all subservient peoples dominated by colonial powers are afforded the opportunity of free self-determination. Pakistan has, therefore, supported wholeheartedly, indeed passionately, the cause of freedom in Indonesia, Indo-China, Morocco and Tunisia. She has taken a leading role in the creation of an independent State of Libya and in the disposition of Eritrea, Somaliland and the Sudan. On this point Pakistan's policy has admitted no question and no compromise as she regards the termination of all political control of one nation by another as fundamental to the main objectives of the United Nations.

I quote from the official report of a speech delivered by the Pakistani representative at the Third Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1948:

"Human society had to move forward. When conditions requiring adjustment arose and were neglected, the elements of a conflict began to accumulate, and, unless the causes were removed or remedied in time, conflict became inevitable. That being so, it was the plain duty of the United Nations to be constantly on the alert to uncover abuses likely to culminate in armed conflict and to seek, by whatever means were open to it, to remedy such abuses, or at least to insist upon their correction in good time. For instance by the end of the first decade of the present century, it was becoming more and more clear that the so-called colonial system, which had as its ultimate basis notions of race superiority, as its object the exploitation of backward areas and what were regarded as inferior or or primitive races, had outlived even such doubtful beneficence as it might ever have been supposed to possess and was serving no purpose beyond intensifying rivalry and hostility among European powers. Yet no positive step had been taken towards liquidating a system which was fast becoming a menace to the peace of the world.

"The First World War should have brought that lesson home to the Colonial Powers; yet each of them, even after so fearful a lesson, continued to cling to the illusion that, in its own case, that which had been demonstrated to be evil would continue to yield good and beneficial results. During the period between the two world wars very little progress had been made towards the practical repudiation of the doctrine of race superiority and its corollary, race domination. One consequence had been that that very doctrine had become the basis of Nazi ideology and had plunged the nations — exploiter and exploited alike — into the seething cauldron of the Second World War."

In 1952, the following statement was made by the Pakistani representative concerning the same subject:

"The affirmation of faith in the equal rights of nations, large and small, in the preamble of the Charter, is interpreted in the purposes of the United Nations as development of 'friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples'. Here is the explicit recognition and acceptance of the fundamental truth that friendly relations among nations can be established and developed only on the basis of respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

"Every contravention of this fundamental principle in practice, even when attempts are made to cover it up by loud verbal affirmations of it, gives rise to internal strife and conflict and soon develops into an active threat to the maintenance of international peace and security. In fact, the very notion of political domination and subordination is inconsistent with fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person. It is also subversive of peace and friendship among nations. The relationship is destructive of the higher moral values both in those who exercise the domination and in those who are subjected to it. This is no longer denied even by those who vehemently resist the application of the principle of self-determination where their own interests may be deemed to be involved. The resistance takes the form of evasions, misinterpretations, subterfuges and equivocations.

"The truth is that political domination of one people by another is today an anachronism, and a destructive one.

"Unfortunately it is not possible to get rid of it at one stroke. The process of self-determination must, however, be accelerated. Expression is sometimes given to the apprehension that this might start conflicts and lead to disruption and disintegration. The exact reverse is the truth."

At another Session the following interesting observations were made on behalf of Pakistan:

"The Charter contains provisions relating to non-self-governing territories. They are of a very limited and modest scope. Even these are constantly sought to be evaded by all sorts of camouflages. We are beginning to be told that a particular territory has ceased to be non-self-governing, though it has not yet become self-governing, or that it has become self-governing, though it is not yet independent, or that it has become independent though it is not yet fully sovereign. These are meaningless distinctions. It must be recognized that a territory does not cease to be non-self-governing until it becomes fully sovereign and qualified to become a member of the United Nations, able in every respect to carry out the obligations of the Charter."

Self-determination for self-governing territories

However, in advocating self-determination for non-self-governing territories, Pakistan has not refused to recognize certain genuine difficulties which the Colonial Powers sometimes face in giving up control immediately and has admitted the possibility of a gradual, though definite programme of transfer of power. With your permission I would quote once more a speech made by the representative of Pakistan before I leave this subject. He said:

"But there are other danger spots, though most of them are not yet in eruption. The fatality is that effective action is delayed till an eruption takes place. I have in mind all non-self-governing territories. What is called for is active effort and sustained action both on the part of the Organization and what are called Colonial Powers to push forward the setting up of all these peoples and territories as independent sovereign States. No doubt the preparatory period will differ in each case, but what is needed is decision and determination on the part of the governing authority voluntarily to speed up the process of equip-

ment and preparation and, where necessary, even of persuasion, prompting and incitement towards independence. It is imperative that the people of these territories should become convinced that in each case the Colonial Power concerned is keen, eager and anxious to speed them on towards complete independence. This conviction alone can create that sense of confidence which would guarantee the peace and security of these territories."

Disputes between two relatively small power peoples

Under the second category of disputes, namely, those between two relatively small powers or peoples, fall the disputes which go under the name of Indo-Pakistan disputes (of which the most important is that relating to Kashmir and Jammu State) and the Palestine dispute. In regard to the Kashmir dispute I would confine myself to saying only that Pakistan has on every occasion and under all circumstances faithfully and without mental reservation accepted all the resolutions passed and proposals made, either by the Security Council or by its various Commissions. That the dispute still remains unresolved is, therefore, not for any lack of co-operation or loyalty to the objectives of the Charter on the part of Pakistan.

Pakistan's stand on partition of Palestine

As regards the Palestine dispute, Pakistan's views are well known. She has, in fact, taken the leading role in fighting out the Arab case in the United Nations before the fateful decision of partition was taken. It is now a matter of common knowledge that certain big Powers were deeply committed beforehand to securing a settlement of the issue by partition of Palestine. However, the earnestness and moral fervour with which Pakistan presented the Arab case very nearly succeeded in destroying the design of partition altogether. Indeed, if it had not been for a deliberately arranged, last-minute adjournment of voting, the decision may well have been different. When the voting did take place, the representative of at least one small power had tears streaming down his face while casting his vote in favour of partition under new instructions received telephonically from his Government, reversing the previous ones. However, the fateful step was taken and today one can only record with regret the fact that the warning given by the representative of Pakistan in 1948 remained unheeded, with the agonizing results with which we are only too familiar today. The official report of the speech says:

"The United Nations must take care not to initiate or to make itself responsible for anything which was not based on fairness and justice and could not be wholly justified with reference to the provisions of the Charter. Palestine was a case in point. The so-called State of Israel was the culmination of a course of the most insidious aggression carried on and persisted in during the course of a third of a century, contrary to all the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. It was now proposed to stamp that culmination with the approval of the United Nations. The Pakistan representative wished to offer a solemn warning that the setting up of the State of Israel in Palestine would mean the introduction of a canker into the body politic of the Middle East, which would eventually either have to be ejected through a surgical operation or else would poison the culture, economic security and policy not only of the Middle East but of vast areas beyond that region. He called upon the Assembly to pause and reflect while there was yet time.

"With Jewry as such the East had no quarrel; it had, indeed, deep sympathy with the sufferings of the Jewish race, but the proposed State of Israel offered no solution, either economic or political, of the problems facing the Jewish people. The insistence upon the establishment of a sovereign State of Israel in Palestine, which would help to solve none of the problems of the Jewish people, was bound to create and intensify

many complicated problems, and it might not be possible to solve them through peaceful means. He again urged the Assembly to pause and reflect while there was yet time."

Pakistan and non-Muslim countries

The third category of disputes covers such matters as the unification of Germany, the dispute in Korea and in Indo-China. There was also the case of political disturbance in Greece, which has since been satisfactorily settled. In all these matters, Pakistan has made notable contribution, not only in the debates but also by actively participating in the various Commissions set up.

While these specific matters have been regarded as important human problems in themselves, and therefore requiring urgent resolution, the fact that the basic difficulty lay in the big-power conflict has not been lost sight of.

And this brings us to the general problem of "maintenance of world peace" which the United Nations has been seriously, though not always with notable success, tackling for a number of years.

The Pakistan delegation offered its own analysis of the unhappy situation as follows:

"We are persuaded that the main elements in this tension are fears of each other's designs and suspicions of each other's motives. We should be loath and most unhappy to believe that the economic and political systems espoused and sponsored by the major protagonists are so exclusive, contradictory and destructive of each other that all possibility of friendly and even beneficent co-operation between the two sides must finally be ruled out.

"We believe that there is still room for hope that understanding and mutual adjustment may be reached. The first essential, however, is that the fears on each side must be stated, appreciated, faced and met in a spirit of understanding inspired by a desire to seek and arrive at accommodation and accord rather than to secure the triumph of one side or the other.

"The process may be difficult. It is bound to involve adjustments that may appear unwelcome and sacrifices that may seem bitter. But it may well turn out that the adjustments are but the fulfilment of needs on both sides and that the sacrifice affects only prejudices and taboos. Even if more should be involved, are both sides so certain and convinced of the absolute rightness of their stand that all attempt at adjustment and accommodation must be abandoned before it is seriously entered upon? That would spell a calamity the like of which mankind has not been called upon to face before and which it may not be capable of surviving, at least with any reasonable chance of being able to remake and rebuild a happy world for any section of it."

Pakistan stressed the importance of co-existence six years ago

The matter was not merely left at the stage of pious expressions but concrete steps were indicated by Pakistan's representative as far back as 1948 by which the tension could be eased and some sort of working confidence established between the Great Powers. He said:

"The ideological conflict continued not only to divide the world but also to harass its peoples and to threaten peace and security. Evidently the complexity of human problems necessitated approach to them from various angles. Diverse points of view and differences of approach and method were essential conditions of advancement and progress and should, therefore, be encouraged. What was needed, however, was tolerance which should provide full scope for ideas to act and react beneficently upon each other. Pakistan's view was that every nation must be free to develop its social, economic and political systems and institutions along the lines best suited to its own needs and expressive of its genius. What must be insisted upon was that no force, violence or coercion, organized or unorganized, should be permitted to be employed, either inside

a nation or from outside, to force a people to give up that which they desired to retain or to adopt that which they were reluctant to accept. Whatever was attempted must be undertaken openly and in the light of day, and carried through by peaceful means. If that could be accepted and put into effect on a world-wide scale, the suspicions of sinister motives and the fears of secret and violent designs, which were poisoning international relations and violent designs, which were poisoning international relations and constituted so grave a threat to the maintenance of peace and security, would soon be dispelled, making beneficent co-operation possible between groups of States that were divided from each other by those suspicions and fears. One effort that would help to clear the atmosphere would be to foster knowledge in all spheres, to provide accurate information and to facilitate and promote free intercourse and interchanges across national and international frontiers. The activities of the United Nations directed towards the lowering and removal of barriers restricting the free movement of ideas, information and individuals should be intensified, since those barriers hindered better understanding and deeper friendship between the nations.

"Pakistan could be relied upon to give its fullest co-operation towards the achievement of the ideals and purposes of the United Nations as set forth in the Charter."

The wisdom and the constructive approach of these proposals made six years ago will at once be seen in the light of what has subsequently transpired. We have recently heard a great deal about the theory of peaceful co-existence. The essence of such a co-existence is contained in the foregoing observations, and Pakistan feels that unless these conditions are freely and frankly accepted by parties, there is little hope for relaxation of the tension which in our time seems to have become the normal form of existence.

Allied to the foregoing is the question of disarmament. For two years, in her capacity as a member of the Security Council, Pakistan made notable contributions to a resolution of this problem. It is admittedly not an easy matter to resolve. If the advent of destructive weapons of gigantic efficacy and range has made the problem more urgent on one hand, on the other it has also made it more complicated and difficult to resolve. The appreciation of the situation by Pakistan in this matter, however, remains as true today as it was in 1951 when it was made, namely, that so long as mutual suspicions and fears remain unresolved little progress can be made in this direction.

Pakistan has always upheld the view that membership of the United Nations should be universal

The extent of suspicion and lack of mutual trust between the Great Powers can be gauged from the severe deadlock which has been created by the persistent refusal of the permanent members to agree to admit new members to the United Nations. Pakistan has always held the view that the aim of the Organization would be to achieve universality of membership. In conformity with her views, Pakistan has fought hard, wherever possible, for admission of new members. Failing everything else and with the object of breaking the ice she sponsored a proposal that one new member sponsored by each group may be admitted by mutual agreematter is where it has always been. Meanwhile, the World Organization is being deprived of the wise counsels that might have been available to it from such great and wise nations as Italy and Germany. Pakistan considers it to be a great misfortune and a serious weakness of the United Nations.

Communist China

In this connection it would be of special interest to state Pakistan's views on two specific cases of admission of members which have created a considerable stir in many parts of the world.

The first of these cases relates to the admission of Communist China. In this connection Pakistan has throughout held the view that Communist China was not a new applicant for membership and, therefore, the test of whether that Government is peace-loving or not, and whether it is able and willing to discharge the obligations contained in the Charter, has no relevance. The sole question was: Who is entitled to represent China, a member State, in the Assembly? This is a question to be determined by the hard facts of life, however unpleasant they may be. These facts are that after a prolonged struggle for supremacy in China between the two contending Chinese Governments, the Nationalist Government was defeated and expelled from the mainland, which the Peking Government effectively controls. The status of the island of Formosa, where the Nationalist Government is now based, is itself the subject matter of determination. In these circumstances, clearly the right of representing the Chinese people vests in the Peking Government.

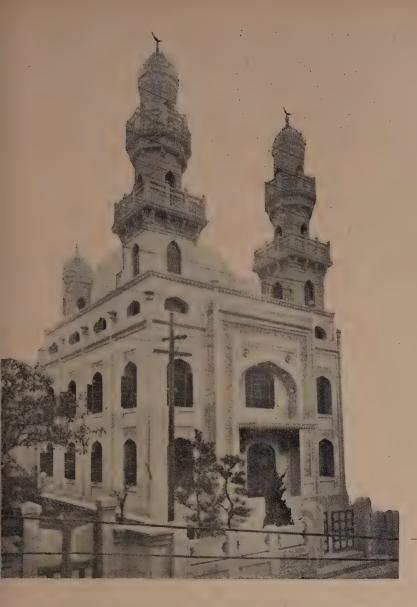
Spain

The second case relates to the question of removing the ban against Spain. On this occasion also, Pakistan's representative put forward powerful considerations which have to a large extent enabled the United Nations to adopt relaxations in favour of Spain.

Finally, we come to what in some ways might be regarded as the most important aspect of the United Nations activities, namely, the numerous projects which aim at improving the living standards of the people and of banishing ignorance, fear and disease. As one of the under-developed countries with a depressed standard of living, Pakistan naturally supports these schemes wholeheartedly. More than that, she sees in these activities the practical application of realization that human beings form one family and that want and sufferings in one section must eventually react harmfully on the others. However, it is felt that in comparison with the magnitude of the problem the resources which have been made available from time to time for this "uplift" work are hopelessly inadequate. Like many other under-developed nations, Pakistan has asked both for speeding up and for widening of the scope of the assistance programmes so that the wide gaps, so detrimental to a peacement. Unfortunately, this effort did not succeed and theful equilibrium in the world, may be rapidly filled.

ERRATUM

We regret that owing to an oversight in The Islamic Review for September 1955, p. 17, Mr. Isma'il al-Azhari, the Prime Minister of the Sudan, was described as Prime Minister of Egypt.



ISLAM IN JAPAN

FIRST MOSQUE IN JAPAN BUILT IN 1905

Turkish Muslim share in the Building of Mosques in Japan

By Dr. S. M. John

The Kobe Mosque, Kobe, Japan, built in 1935

"With the exception of the translation of the Holy Qur'an there is practically no Islamic literature in the Japanese language."

The Muslim population of Japan mainly of Turkish origin

Muslims in Japan are now centred in Kobe and Tokyo, although before 1941 there were Muslims in Nagoya as well. The Muslim population of Japan consists mainly of Muslims of Turkish origin who had migrated to Japan from Northern Turkey carrying the banner of Islam and settled there. The exact date of this migration is not available, but it is presumed that it was long before World War I or during the Russian Revolution. Muslim traders from India forming a floating population of Japan had established their businesses in Japan even before World War I. They increased considerably in number after World War I. The Indian and Turkish Muslims felt the necessity for a mosque, and a movement to build a mosque in Kobe was started. The Maulavi M. A. K. Bochia, a Muslim missionary from India who had arrived in Japan in 1928, gave a great impetus to this movement. With a few devout workers he worked for the cause in earnest and started collecting funds for the project. Muslims in India and Burma also responded generously to the appeal for funds.

Numbers 16 and 21 of the Articles of Foundation of the Kobe Mosque read:

"All the office bearers except the Treasurer to be elected from the Directors and the Treasurer to be elected from the Indian Sunni Hanafi Muslim firms in Kobe."

"In case of resignation of the Treasurer another Treasurer must be elected immediately by the Board of Directors from Indian Sunni Hanafi Muslim firms."

The above two Articles of Foundation of the Mosque give the indication that the Muslims of Indian origin were responsible for the financial aspect of the administration of the mosque. The above articles were, however, amended on 1st September 1941 by the General Meeting by deleting the word "Indian", and the articles now read "Suni Hanafi Muslims". The reason for the amendment seems to be that the Indian Muslims carrying on business in Japan had left Japan in view of the political situation and the possibility of war spreading to Japan, leaving the administration and

management of the mosque in the hands of the local Turkish Muslim community.

Muslims in Kobe

The construction of the first mosque in Japan, situated at 57 Kakayamate-Dori, 2-chome, Ikuta-ku, Kobe, was completed in 1935, and the opening ceremony of the Kobe Mosque was held on Friday 11th October 1935. The long-felt need of a mosque for the Muslims of Osaka and Kobe area was thus fulfilled. The mosque was not named Kobe Mosque but Kobe Muslim Mosque, because by the word "Muslim" the Japanese could easily know that the term "mosque" referred to a Muslim place of prayer. This beautiful mosque is three-storeyed. The ground floor used for prayer is beautifully carpeted and has a nice Mihrab and Mimbar (sermon seat). The two minarets and the large dome are visible from a long distance. The Mu'ezzin gives the Azan (Call to prayer) from the minarets. The apartment for ablution is in a separate building attached to the mosque. There is a basement which was used as an air raid shelter during the war.



The Maulavi M. A. K. Bochia, a Muslim missionary from India.

To Mr. Bochia goes the credit of materializing the idea of building a mosque at Kobe, Japan

The Friday prayers are well attended by the Muslims of Osaka and Kobe and also Muslim seamen and passengers on board the steamers lying in the docks. The Friday sermon is delivered in Arabic and Turkish by the Imam, Mr. K. Husein Kilki. The *Taraveeh* prayers during the month of *Ramadhan* and the *Maulid al-Nabi* (the Prophet Muhammad's Birthday) are usually celebrated in a fitting manner. The two 'Id prayers are well attended by Muslims of all races in the Osaka and Kobe areas.

A piece of land adjoining the mosque was acquired after World War II. A school built on this land is run on modern

lines by the Mosque Managing Committee. About twenty children are taught Arabic, Turkish and Japanese. The mosque was one of the few buildings in Kobe not damaged by the heavy bombing raids during the war. The Waqf properties of the mosque were destroyed during the air raid in 1945 but more property has since been acquired. The Imam serves the mosque in an honorary capacity. The Management Committee of the mosque, with Mr. Husein Biglitsi as President and Mr. Enver Starkow as Secretary, has been solely responsible for the management of the mosque, although Pakistani and Indian Muslims have been making valuable contributions financially. The entire Management Committee is now made up of Muslims of Turkish origin.

The Muslims have their own burial ground at the Kasugano International Cemetery, and as it is now filled up the Hyogo Prefectural Authorities have provided the Muslim community with a beautiful plot of land in Shiogahara on the slopes of Futabi Mountain.

The present strength of the Muslims in the Osaka-Kobe area is about 200 Turkish, about 30 Indian and Pakistani,



M. Ferozuddin, an Indian Muslim, the chief donor to the Kobe Mosque Building Fund

and a few Indonesian, Syrian and Afghan. There are very few Japanese Muslims. By 1945 about 300 Turkish Muslims had returned to Turkey, and in recent years there has been a tendency among the Turkish Muslims to return to Turkey.

Muslims in Tokyo and Nagoya

The construction of the Tokyo mosque, situated at Seadaw Dori (Green Road), Yoyogi Oyama-cho, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, was started on 19th November 1937 by the Turkish Imam, Mr. Muhammad 'Abdul Hai Kurbanali, and was completed on 13th May 1938, when the opening ceremony was held. It is a beautiful two-storeyed building with a large dome and a big compound. The Friday prayers are well

Extended by the local Muslims and Muslims from the various Embassies and seamen from steamers in the ports of Tokyo and Yokohama. The *Taraveeh* prayers during the month of *Ramadhan*, the *Maulid al-Nabi* (the Prophet's Birthday) are usually celebrated on a grand scale. There is a good congregation of Muslims of all races during the two 'Id prayers.

A school was built in 1938 on the land adjoining the nosque. This building provides facilities for ablutions. Arabic, Turkish and Japanese are taught in this school, which is run on modern lines and the Turkish cultural background maintained.

The Turkish Muslim community is solely responsible or the construction and maintenance of this mosque under the auspices of the Islamic Society of Tokyo, the present President of which is Mr. H. Wahhab, who is also the President of the Muslim Society in Tokyo and Director of the Muslim school in Tokyo. Mr. Sh. Miftahittin, the Imam of the mosque, performs his duties in an honorary capacity. There are about twenty to thirty children, mainly of the Turkish community, attending the school.

The Muslims of Tokyo have a burial ground of their own. The number of Muslims in Tokyo is about 160 of Turkish origin, about 60 from various Embassies and ousiness houses and a few Japanese Muslims.

According to Mr. Ilyas T. Sakuma, Editor-in-Chief of Green Flag and Permanent Director of the International Muslim Association of Tokyo, the number of Japanese Muslims in Tokyo is about 100, and about 1,000 in the whole of Japan, scattered throughout the country. From enquiries it transpires that during World War II the Japanese soldiers in Indonesia, Malaya. Borneo and the Philippines had come in contact with Muslims in those countries, and some had embraced Islam. According to Mr. Ilyas T. Sakuma there is no record of the exact number, because there is no central Muslim organization in Japan.

There was a mosque in the important industrial centre of Nagoya before World War II, but this mosque was destroyed during an air raid. The few Muslims who were in Nagoya have since shifted either to Kobe or Tokyo, and no effort has been made to rebuild this mosque. Even in Nagoya the Turkish Muslims were responsible for the construction and maintenance of the Nogoya mosque before the

The Turkish Muslims in Japan retain their entity to the extent of excluding Japanese architecture from their mosque buildings

The Turkish Muslims have maintained their own culture, manners and customs, which have not been affected by Japanese influence. The older members of the Turkish community still adhere to the Turkish dress and even converse in Turkish, but the younger generation has taken to Western dress. It is surprising to see that the architecture of both the Kobe Muslim Mosque and the Tokyo Mosque has not been influenced by Japanese architecture, whereas the mosques in countries like China are mainly of Chinese architecture. Although all the Turkish Muslims read, write and speak Japanese, very few Turkish families have inter-married with the Japanese, with the result that the inter-mixture is not noticeable, as it is in China, Indonesia, Malaya and Burma. The Japanese Muslims have maintained the Japanese culture, manners and customs, and even the scroll usually found in the houses of Japanese of Buddhist or Shinto faith

is seen in their homes. Though the Japanese Muslims say "Assalamu-'alaikoum" when they meet other Muslims, the usual Japanese "bow" is also maintained.

No literature on Islam in Japanese

The Japanese, because of their contact with the Muslims during the war in China, Borneo, Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaya and Burma, show great interest in Islam.

With the exception of the translation of the Holy Qur'an there is practically no Islamic literature in the Japanese language. The first translation of the Holy Qur'an into Japanese was done in 1926 by Mr. Ken-ichi Sakamoto, based on the Reverend Sale's English translation of the Qur'an. The author did not know the Arabic language and he was not a Muslim. He merely translated into Japanese Sale's English translation of the Holy Qur'an. Copies of this translation are not available and it is difficult to get even old copies. Another translation of the Holy Qur'an in Japanese by three non-Muslim authors, Goro Takahashi, Amoto Ariga and Mizuho Yamaguchi, was published on 27th June 1938. Not one of these authors knew the Arabic language. Their translation is based on Chinese, English, French and German translations of the Holy Qur'an by non-Muslim authors. The translation is in Japanese without the Arabic text. Copies of this translation of the Holy Qur'an are not available as the publishers have gone out of business. The latest translation of the Holy Qur'an in Japanese by Dr. Shumei Ohkawa without the Arabic text was published on 15th February 1950. This author also did not know Arabic. He seems to have based his translation not on the original Arabic text but on the German translation of the Holy Qur'an. To know the pronunciation, several important Arabic words have been given transliteration in Roman letters. This is the only translation of the Holy Qur'an in Japanese now available. There was another translation of the Holy Qur'an in Japanese by Professor Okubo, who was an Arabic scholar, and he is said to have based his translation on the original Arabic text, but copies of this translation are not available, as Professor Okubo died and the publishers are said to have gone out of business.

In the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies there is no chair for the Arabic language, although Hindustani is being taught. Even in the library there are no books or literature on Islam.

The only Islamic magazine published in Japan in English is by Mr. Ilyas T. Sakuma. This is the official organ of the International Moslem Association of Tokyo. Before the war Mr. Sakuma published for twenty years in Shanghai a magazine in English and Chinese under the title of Light of Islam.

There is need for a Central Muslim Missionary Organization in Japan and for the publication of Islamic literature in the Japanese language.

FREE COPIES OF THE HOLY QU'RAN

All available copies of the Holy Qu'rán by the Maulana Muhammad 'Ali for free distribution as advertised in *The Islamic Review* for September 1955 have already been disposed of. It is regretted that no further applications can be entertained.



"SOMALILAND TODAY"

1 Hans Crescent, London, S.W.1. 26th September 1955.

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

Assalamu 'alaikum

My fellow-countrymen in Great Britain express their deep appreciation of the consideration which you have given to the Somali case by publishing an article by Mr. 'Abdul Rahman in *The Islamic Review* for August 1953. The Somalis, being almost 100 per cent Muslims, seek the sympathy and full support of the Muslim world. The following lines may help to complete some of the details in the picture of the situation in Somaliland at present.

The recent Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty was a severe blow to the entire Somali people, since it will obviously impede their progress towards political and economic stability. Although the intensity of the Somalis' disapproval of such a mischievous deal has been universally expressed, by peaceful means and through constitutional medium, its effect on the British Government, so far, has been negligible. In spite of the unanimous Somali opposition against such a deliberate increased fragmentation of their land, the two Colonial Governments, Britain and Ethiopia, have stubbornly co-operated to enforce the implementation of such an arbitrary policy.

The Somalis today fervently desire for the application of the principles of national freedom and human rights, without which the establishment of lasting peace and prosperity in the Horn of Africa will undoubtedly be impossible. The Somali question is up till now purely a problem of nationalism, and unless it is accepted as something natural, it may have serious repercussions. The evil forces of violence and devastation can inevitably find an easy way to oust the policy of moderation and diplomacy. Nevertheless, uneasiness is evident among our peoples at home and abroad. The tempo of the political situation is increasingly high and under such circumstances anything is likely to happen. But one has to bear in mind that this is only the beginning of an all-Somali movement, which will break the bondage of colonialism.

Nothing less than a united and independent Somaliland can satisfy us. Our aim is to free and unite the whole of Somaliland. But we see there today the creation of another "Palestine Problem" in that quiet corner of the disturbed continent of Africa. The seed of the Somali-Ethiopian hostility has been sown, oddly enough, with the complete consent of the archaic, despotic régime in Ethiopia. This will mean the self-destruction of two African nations caused by the short-sightedness and blind ambitions of the ruling few in Ethiopia. The slow strangulation of seven Somalis in public in the town of Jigjiga, some weeks ago, and the compulsion of their wives, children and relatives, by armed police, to

watch the tragic show, gives only one example of many similar inhuman methods which are used by the Amhara rulers of Ethiopia in the twentieth century.

However, we also notice the political awakening of the Somali nation, resolutely demanding to have its right to be free and united. Whatever the material strength of the imperialists may be, and whatever repressive measures they use, nothing can subdue the spirit of our ultimate national desire for our legitimate right to self-determination. Neither a nominal "Ethiopian Fraternity" nor a vague "British Justice" can ever be a substitute for our natural right to freedom.

It is indeed a sad thing to see that the Ethiopians, who suffered the severity of Colonial rule under Fascist Italy, and who were only recently liberated, are today themselves even more aggressive than the Fascists in their encroachments into their neighbouring Somali territories. We also cannot understand the contradictions in British politics, because although they forced the Federation of Central Africa, despite the African opposition, yet today they impose on us the disintegration of our country into bits and pieces. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. A. T. Lennox-Boyd, on his visit to Nigeria early this year, said: "World powers today move towards integration, and not disintegration". I wonder why Mr. Lennox-Boyd and his Government cannot pursue such an enlightened policy in the case of Somaliland, where unity is what we unanimously desire. The policy of oppression must cease, or else Britain will bear the responsibility, because what happens in Morocco, Kenya and Cyprus is bound to happen also in Somaliland.

Since Her Britannic Majesty's Government has betrayed us by handing over a large portion of the land of her loyal protected subjects to Ethiopia, without our consent, is there, may I ask, any reason why we should not press forward the demand for our independence now? In 1960 Somalia (ex-Italian Somaliland) will become independent, and by uniting the two territories together we could lay down a solid foundation for a greater, self-governing Somalia.

Yours fraternally.

AHMED DUALEH.

MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY WORK IN AFRICA

The East African Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, P.O. Box 554,
Nairobi, British East Africa.

Dear Sir,

Assalamu 'alaikum!

in the town of Jigjiga, some weeks ago, and the compulsion of their wives, children and relatives, by armed police, to the modern world is passing is nowhere felt more than on

de African continent. Millions of human beings are being addenly thrown from a primitive pagan tribal society into the rush and complexity of the atomic age. Old ways of life, eliefs and customs are in the melting pot. Out of the stress and change new nations have begun to emerge and are fast noving towards self-government. It seems certain that they will play a major role in the world of tomorrow.

The Christian Missions have been quick to realize the ast opportunities before them. In East Africa, hundreds of nousands of pounds are being spent on the propagation of Christianity. Hundreds of missionaries of all sects and enominations have covered the Kenya Colony, the Uganda rotectorate and the Tanganyika Territory with a close network of churches, chapels, schools, colleges, hospitals and ther welfare institutions. The Bible has been or is in process f being translated into forty-two native languages and many opies are distributed free into the remotest districts. The arious Churches, in spite of doctrinal differences, are working together to make sure that the educated African leaders of tomorrow will be devoted to Christianity. They want the tew nations, when they attain the stage of independence, to be Christian States.

Against this, the Muslim effort has been almost egligible. Although Arabs settled on the East Coast enturies ago and, in more recent times, carried Islam to the nterior, little has been done for many years either in the eld of religious tabligh or of education. African Muslims ave become backward educationally, socially and conomically. They know little about their religion and their haikhs, for the most part, are ignorant and retrograde and uite unable to stand up to trained Christian preachers. With he exception of a recently built trade school in Mombasa, Kenya, they have no educational establishments beyond poor illage Qur'anic schools in mud huts and a small number of nferior primary schools. Muslim parents are afraid to send heir children to Protestant or Catholic Mission Colleges or Sovernment institutions staffed by Christian teachers for fear hat they will be induced to change their faith. African Auslims are in consequence lagging far behind and cannot ise to responsible posts either in the administration or in rade and industry.

There are two and a half million Muslims in British East Africa, and a very good idea of their position may be obtained from the fact that there is not a single African Muslim member in the Legislative Councils of Kenya and Iganda. In the whole of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Iyasaland and Eastern Congo, there is not a solitary second-ry school for African Muslims. There have of course been clans, discussions and conferences on how to counter this ragic state of affairs, but nothing concrete has been done. Meanwhile, Christian Missions are hard at work, and only ast year Tanganyika's leading Muslim chief was converted to Roman Catholicism. . . .

In 1953, an important landmark in the history of Islam Africa was reached with the publication of the Swahili ranslation of the Holy Qur'an by the East African Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission. Swahili is the most widely poken tongue in these parts, and it had long been felt that o Muslim revival was possible without proper religious astruction and that the best way of propagating the faith was y making the Word of God available to Africans in a anguage which they could understand. The Book comprises the Arabic text, a Swahili version and a fairly detailed wahili commentary. In the footnotes have been refuted all the columnies and objections raised by Christian missionaries

against Islam and the Prophet Muhammad. The Book was printed in Nairobi out of the proceeds of local donations and is being circulated and sold as far as Nyasaland, the Rhodesias and the Belgian Congo. I may add that this is the first time that the Holy Qur'an has been printed south of the Sahara, and the first time it has been rendered by a Muslim into an African language. . . . But difficulties, however, are many. The area is in size seven times that of Great Britain, distances are long, communications poor, financial resources very slender. Literature has to be prepared in many languages and for people of different background and cultural level. Most Africans are too poor to buy books and lack of funds prevents the free distribution of expensive works like the Swahili translation of the Holy Qur'an.

Yours truly, SHEIKH MUBARAK AHMAD.

"THE TRUTH ABOUT ISLAM"

28 Hawthorne Street, Brooklyn Street, New York, U.S.A. 13th September 1955.

Dear Sir,

Your editorial, "The Truth About Islam," although very interesting and a clear picture of the Muslims of today and that of the true and real Muslims of more than a thousand years ago, suffered from one little misuse of words, when you said that "Islam has sects and schools of thought".

This point to which I wish to draw your attention is very important to me and, I believe, also to many Muslims, as the use of the word "sect" in connection with Islam presents a distorted, if not wrong, picture of Islam. The word "sect", to my knowledge, cannot be applied to schools of thought or groups of Muslims, such as the Shafi'i, Maliki, etc., or the Sufis, since none of them differs from each other in any of the principles of the Islamic faith. For instance they all believe in the one God; they all pray alike; they all accept Ramadhan as the month of fasting. Thus the word "sect" cannot be used in defining Islam, the word "sect" denoting a difference of fundamentals.

Sects in Christianity, as you know, are sects because, as I see it, each one has a different set of principles. For instance, some believe in Jesus as the Son of God, some as God Himself, while others three-in-one, and still others who believe in him as a prophet of God. Thus, in short, the difference in details of Islamic teachings cannot by any means be called sects, for the difference is not of fundamentals but in subsidiaries.

Further, it can hardly be over-emphasized that once we Muslims use loosely the word "sect" even to describe "sections" on Islam, I fear we would be far from helping such Christian friends as think of adopting Islam as their faith. For after reading such statements as the one in *The Islamic Review*, they would feel that Islam suffers from the self-same ailment as Christianity.

I do hope that the word "sect" will be avoided in talking of Islam. This indeterminate use of this word can do more harm than good.

Yours sincerely,

'ABDO SA'ID.



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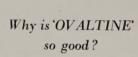
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